423 804 241 [2] ACRE--Land is not measured by the acre in Ladák. A "holding,"
which may consist of a few or of many acres is termed a
"zhing" a word which really means "arable land." The
"zhing" is said to contain a certain number of "khal." The
"khal" is the weight which a sheep can carry, which is from
24 to 30 pounds. For purposes of land measurement the
"khal" is always understood to mean about 24 pounds, and
[651] a "khal" of land is that amount, for the sowing of which 24
pounds of grain is required. Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai
Bahadur, who was Wazir of Ladák for some years, and who
surveyed the whole country, with a view to introducing a
new system of taxing land, informed me in 1886, that the
"khal" of Ladak was almost identical with the "kanal" of
the Punjab. Now a "kanal" is equal to 20 "marlahs," each
"marlah" measuring 16 1/2 x 16 1/2 feet, this makes the
"khal" equal to about one-eighth of an acre.

General Cunningham in his "Ladák" writes that a "khal"
is about 32 pounds in weight, and that when used as a
measure for land, it means about one-third of an acre; according to this, a "khal" of 24 pounds would be equal to
one-fourth of an acre.

597 ADOPT TO--poodot cho ches or poodot len ches (a son, etc.). In
Ladák, adoption of children is not rare. If a married
couple have no children or child, or after the death of such
child or children, they may adopt some one belonging to
their own family and caste. Usually, if both husband and
wife are alive, the husband adopts a child from among his
own relatives, while the wife adopts one from among her
own relatives. If the husband adopts a son, the wife adopts
a daughter, and vice versa. There are no rules, I believe,
as to limit of age, but it is the custom to adopt children of
[583] from 10 to 20 years [3] of age. The adopted children, not
being blood relations, are at once married; if they have children, no further adoption is permissible; but if they are
childless, their adoptive parents can adopt another couple
of children. If the husband of a childless wife is dead, the
wife can adopt a male and a female child, and in the same
way if the wife is dead, the husband can adopt children.
[428] Under no circumstances can a Ladák set aside his own children, or adopt children unless the house is childless. If an

583 Makpa is the term for the bridegroom selected by a woman. In this case the man belongs to the woman, not the woman to the man. If a man has a daughter and no son, and if he is also in a position to provide for her for her life, he arranges for a "makpa" for her; and in this way, he is able to select a man to marry his daughter and to come and live with him, thereby killing two birds with one stone, for not only does he thus avoid having to part with his daughter, who is practically his servant, but he gets an able-bodied man to come and join her, also as
595 his servant. The brothers of a "makpa" can not share the
[554] makpa's wife. There is no loss of dignity involved in accepting the position of a makpa bridegroom. Under certain circumstances a woman may have a second husband, but see under "Husband".

601 BROTHER--ácho (eldest) parma (middle) and no (young). Spoonla is the general term for full-blood brothers. The words "ácho" and "no" are used just as the Hindustanis use the word "bhai." If the speaker is the elder, he says "no" but if the person spoken to is the elder, the word "ácho" is used.

779 [15]BUDDHA--sangeys or SHakskia thuba. Each "kapla" or period (at the end of each of which the world, for its wickedness, is destroyed by fire) has its own Buddha. The name of the Buddha of the coming period is maitreya.

BUDDHIST--bót or sangeyspa or bótPa. The word "nángpa" or "insider" is used by bots when speaking of themselves as distinguished from Christians and Mahomedans, etc., who are termed "pheepa" or "outsider."

764 BURIAL--The Buddhists of Ladák burn their dead. The Mahomedans use the Arabic word "dafan" but see "Funeral."

262 BUTTER--mar khagla or khagla mar (butter, or fresh butter) mar is a general term for butter, oil, and ghee. Europeans and their
[439] servants generally use the word "mar" to mean "fresh butter" but they are understood to mean the butter-like ghee, which is imported from Baltistan.

[34]

●583 DOWER--rinto or zho or in the case of Mahomedans "mehr." The sum of money paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. The goods given to a woman on her marriage, including what we should call her "trousseau," and "dot" is called "raktak".

534 [292] DRUM--denjang the big drum--body of wood and played upon like our big drums; dolti a brass drum like a kettle drum; daman a kettle drum; daps a drum played with the hands like a tambourine; daroo a very peculiar little drum used by lámas when dancing. It is shaped like an hour-glass and held in the centre, short strings with small pieces of wood attached to their ends are fastened on at either end; and when the hand is shaken these pieces of wood come in contact with the parchment heads of the drum, and thus sound it. There being several strings at each end, the sound produced is rather that of a rattle than of a drum. Denjang (or dolti, etc.,) rdung ches to play the drum.

273 DRUNKARD--rárospa or ráros or rároskhan. The Ladákis can not be called drunkards. They all drink chhang[1] very freely, and frequently get very cheery in consequence, but even in their cups they are usually good tempered and harmless. They seldom get dead drunk. The expression zeekopkop chha ches signifies to be fuddled, or partially intoxicated.

439 386 [35]DYE--tshos the durable dyes of the country, rang the bright, but not fast, dyes imported from India.

136 825 EAGLE--lák. The Chinese or Lhasa pug dogs are called "lák khee" because it is believed that if a human being lays hands upon a young eagle, when freshly hatched, the bird is transformed into a dog of the Chinese pug breed.

291 EAR FLAP--hnaslan or noslan. The woollen lappets worn by Ladáki women over their ears. In shape and size they resemble the blinkers worn by a carriage horse. They are edged with fur and are plaited into the hair.

931/823 EARTHQUAKE--samgul. Ladákis think that the earth is supported, in the midst of an ocean, on the back of a large fish, and that whenever this fish rolls about, earthquakes are felt. In LADÁK THEY ARE ALMOST UNKNOWN.

[1] [I.E, BARLEY BEER -- ANALYST]

428 his parents have any property. If there is no son, then the
592 eldest daughter inherits. She, in consultation with her
parents, picks out a husband for herself. Such a husband is
583 termed a "makpa." He is the property of his wife, and his
428 younger brothers cannot claim to share her. The "makpa"
591 has to live on his wife's property. When he marries, the
592 daughter, the latter inherits the "khángchhen," while her
586 parents take the "khángoo." A "makpa" is only one step
removed from the "cavaliere serviente," can be turned out
at a moment's notice, for no fault, and even the fact of
his having children by the woman, does not debar the latter
from her right to dismiss him summarily. It is usual for a
woman to give a dismissed "makpa" a sheep or a few rupees.
597 If there are no children in a house, then a son is adopted;
for particulars in regard to this, see under the heading
"adoption" and "husband."

753 EPILEPSY--za. Ladákis think that if the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he, or she, becomes epileptic, but see under "Rainbow".

779 [39]ETERNAL BLISS--deywa chhenmo. The ordinary Ladáki knows little or nothing about the state of "deywa chhenmo" which is apparently very similar to the European idea of "nirvána" or absorption into the Absolute Infinite. Buddhists have no God, according to our ideas, there is therefore no Being into whose Infinity they can be absorbed. They understand "deywa chhenmo" to mean a state of absolute rest and peace--free from all desires and pains, and to be attained only by the spirit of the pious at the conclusion of the period of its re-births or embodiments, in this world.

563
195 EUROPEAN--pheelingpa. This word means literally "people from beyond the ocean," it is, however, applied to all Europeans, whether they come from across the sea or not, e.g., Russians in Siberia would be termed pheelingpa. On the other hand a native of Ceylon would not be termed pheelingpa. The ordinary and more respectful word for a European is the Indian word "Sáhib."

423 GROUND RENT--bap or mámila the revenue assessment on land;
651 zhino-thal the unpaid labour which landowners have to supply,
when required by the State; ngidzhing or zhingrin the rent paid
427 yearly for land rented for a limited number of years only;
SHast zhing the small yearly rent paid, in addition to an original lump sum, for cultivated lands rented in perpetuity;
SHaskhang the rent paid for ground used for building purposes.

821 [56] HAIRY--srâchan or SHrâchan general, spoonjan on face. The Ladâkis are a very smooth faced race, and they consider it a disfigurement if a man has a strong growth of hair on his face.

601 HALF BLOOD--The Ladâkis have no single word for this; they have to say "of one father, but of different mothers," or as the case may be.

563 HALF CASTE--árGHôn. This is the general and only term for a
583 hybrid, and by no means always signifies a half caste.
797 ArGHôns are all Mahomedans, most of them are Sunis, but some also Shiahs. The former are the result of connections formed by the Mahomedan traders, who yearly visit Leh in large numbers, and the women of the country, while the latter are the result, generally speaking, of connections formed between men of Baltistân and women of Ladák.

The Mahomedans of Central Asia are habitually incontinent, and when they come to Leh during the trade season (1st August to 1st October) they (as prostitution is against their religion, and as they can only marry women of their own religion), induce the Ladák women to adopt the faith of Islám, after which they go through the "nikah" marriage ceremony with them.

[771] Their religion lies but lightly on the people of Ladák, and the women have no objection to turning Mahomedan, and becoming the "nikah" brides of men who are in a position to keep them. The offspring of these connections are, in the first instance, half caste Tibetan Mahomedans called "árGHóns," and these again frequently marry pure Tibetan women (converted to Mahomedanism), but their children too are "árGHóns," thus it may happen that a man is practically a pure Tibetan, nevertheless if he traces his descent from a connection formed between a Mahomedan, and a Ladaki woman, he is termed
[595] an "árGHón." ArGHóns are never polyandrists, and though

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying 563
a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do 583
so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 777

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (confined [162]
almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate
vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population.

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. 197
They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the 563
"Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary
ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very
good Mahomedans.

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious bigotry, 798
and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the
public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they 178
have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English 177
Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them 583
Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants 562
of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, 595
but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in
connection with religion and matrimony. Already the
árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas,
while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces
when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages
are becoming more common, and the people are being taught
that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population,
with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease,
misery and crime, is disgraceful.

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half 114
castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in 563
other respects they are of worse character than either of the
races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four
years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis
than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he
has maligned them, as a whole.

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of 563
half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different 583
husbands, and as many different families. In such 851
cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless 114
waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes,
but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not

563 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary
● 583 advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of
851 society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than
114 the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels,
it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they
grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladâk; he has more intelligence,
more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist,
and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 The ordinary Ladâk Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find any-
105 where, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people,
but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not
[473] clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have
land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the
land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have
enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by
[439] the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans
of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or
563 aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no
473 land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to
443 earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists,
they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak
two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal
appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior
to them.

137 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladâkis consider that hares are of the
114 same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p. 203) says that Tibetans
762 do not eat hares, in Ladâk this is not so.

562 HAREM--âney (or bómo) duksa khângpa. The Ladáki women are
563 not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the
streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think
it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which
when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and
covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladâk),
vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth
surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpô-zhukskhan. The former

The former
776 word means haunted by an unembodied spirit, the latter means
haunted by the spirit of a living person.

291 HEAD DRESS--kasába the red turban worn by ArGHon women, gen-
301 erally adorned with a turquoise-studded silver or gold ornament,
called "joogin" fastened above the centre of the forehead. dáón
the white sheet worn over the kasába, covering the whole of it,
except a band across the forehead, and coming down behind as
far as the waist. peyrak the broad stiff leather, turquoise studded
head-dress worn, always by Buddhist women of Ladák, and oc-
[554] casionally by ArGHon women. The size of the peyrak depends
upon the wealth of the owner--a good one is perhaps 10 inches
wide at the top and 3 feet long, and worth Rs. 300. The
ordinary peyrak is perhaps 4 inches wide and 24 inches long, and
worth about 50 rupees. When a woman is young she invests her
worldly wealth in turquoises, which she fastens on to her peyrak.
Later on, when her eldest daughter marries, most of these tur-
•[583] quoises are given to her as a dowry. The turquoises used for this
[439] purpose come from China. They are large flattish stones of a
greenish colour and [59] full of flaws. Even a good one is worth
only about 50 rupees.

784 In former days the Buddhists had a prejudice against the kasába and
291 dáón, and they would not allow any woman wearing this head-
dress, to come upon their fields, the prejudice has now almost
entirely died out.

798 HEATHEN--The Ladákis have no such word, they would speak of a person as belonging to a certain religion. If they wished to say he was an atheist, they could apply to him the word "armen-dirmen".

779 HEAVEN--namkha the region or space above us--the sky--where the
772 birds are flying and the saints are soaring, where it lightens and
thunders, etc.--the ether--as the fifth element (vide Jaschke's
Dict. p. 303) zhingkham or thóris or ótsál the everlasting abode
of the spirits of the pious or of those who have atoned for their
sins by remaining in hell for a certain time. The Buddhist
heaven is not like the Christian heaven--indeed it is hard to say
what it is supposed to be like, for it must be remembered that
for a Buddhist to speak of "going to heaven" is equivalent to his
speaking of "attaining nirvána" (which see). Tibetans of the

arrangement serves with them for a hinge. 000

[62] HOE--pharooa (large spade-like implement for digging) thoktsey (small narrow implement used for weeding or digging up earth round roots of flowers, etc.). 241

[63]

HOT SPRING--chhootshan. There are a good many of these, the principal ones being at Pooga, Panámik, Changlung ShooSHól, and Kiám. The Kiám spring which is the hottest, has a temperature of 179° and is impregnated with soda and sulphur. 133

HOUR--chhootshot i.e., water measure--so called because the Dógras, who first taught the Tibetans to count time by the hour, used for an hour glass, a brass bowl so made, with a small hole in it, that when placed in a pan of water, it floated for exactly an hour, after which owing to the weight of water gradually taken in through the hole, it sank. 804 177

HOUSE--khángpa or khampa (general), khar (of a king), zimškhang (of a great man), táSHak (of a Láma not residing in a monastery) zimSHak or zimSHung (of a "skooSHok" or "incarnation". These persons never live in a monastery but have quarters close by) khángzhik or khángoo(a small hut)GHunsa (the word means "winter place" and is used to indicate the house in a village occupied by a villager during the winter) yártsa (meaning "summer place" is used to indicate the house out in the fields, where the cultivator lives during the summer, so as to be near his work). 342

HOVEL--khángoo or khangzhik (a small and poor house) pooloo (the small dry stone wall shelter-places to be found near the tops of mountain passes and in other out of the way places, sometimes with slab-stone roof, generally without any roof, but never containing any wood work, as this would inevitably be stolen and used for fire-wood).

[64]

HUSBAND--toks or troks or zhidmat. The words mean also "wife". Polyandry is almost universally practised among the Buddhists of Ladák. Matrimony and the law of entail (which see) are closely connected. The eldest son inherits the whole of the family property, and he it is who is entitled to marry a wife. 601 590 428 583

595 If he has only two brothers, they both become the "de facto"
428 husbands of his wife, but if he has more than two brothers, some
●583 of them must become Lámas (priests), or must leave the paternal
601 roof, and make their own way in the world, as not more than two
[597] brothers can share the wife of their eldest brother. The wife addresses her real husband, that is to say, the eldest brother, who alone has gone through the ceremonies of betrothal and marriage, as "ácho" or in polite language "káGHa," while she calls the two younger brothers "no" or "káGHa chhungan".

601 The "ácho" husband speaks to his wife as "achey," while the "no" husbands speak to her as "nómo." Speaking of the wife, all brothers call her their "áney" or "zhidmat". Another person speaking of this woman and her husbands would describe the woman as being the "zhidmot" (wife), of the góboo (eldest brother) parma (middle brother), and tháchhungan (little brother).

586 If the woman has no child by these husbands, other arrangements are made, but see under "Re-marriage".

595 According to the Ladák usage, a woman may have 3 brothers as her
587 husbands at the same time, but she cannot (unless divorced) marry another husband while any of these brothers live. After they are all dead, she may marry another man, but as a matter of fact, she never does so, if she has any children.

583 A "makpa" is the husband selected by an heiress; he is generally a
586 younger brother of a family of more than 3 brothers, and he is, therefore, glad to be married to a woman who will support him.

The "makpa" is the property of his wife she can turn him out whenever she pleases, and call in another "makpa" if so inclined; but as a matter of fact this is seldom done.

478 If there are daughters, but no sons in a family, the eldest daughter
583 becomes the heir to the family property, and occupies the position which the eldest son, had there been one, would have held. Instead of being given in marriage, she selects a single husband for herself, or her parents do it for her, and such a husband is called a "makpa."
[595] From this custom it may be inferred that the ladies of Ladák do not approve of polyandry, for how, otherwise, can we account for the fact, that while the pauper has several husbands at the same time, the heiress has never more than one.

778 [65]IDOL--skunda or skoo. There is no invidious meaning attached to this word, a Buddhist speaks of his clay god as a "skunda."

789 [95]MAGIC--thrul (or thul) stan ches (to perform in a general sense) thoosna giap ches(to bring down fire from heaven to consume any thing) nganchhos cho ches (to bewitch, by means of religious charms, etc.), reepSHing or teepSHing (a magical wand-made of a very rare kind of wood, and possessing the virtue of enabling the person holding it, to become invisible).

795
609 MAHOMEDAN--pheepa or Mussalman. The word "pheepa" means "outsider" and is applicable to all persons other than Buddhists, who are called "nangpa" or "insider," but as a matter of fact, Muhammadans are the only ~~persons~~ usually called "pheepa," and the word may therefore be considered as applying to them only.

●583
601 MAKPA--Makpa. This is the name given to the husband of a woman who is sufficiently well off to select a husband for herself, instead of being married in the ordinary way. For particulars see under heading "Husband."

412 [96]MALLET--thómálak (iron hammer as for driving in tent pegs) thóa (large sledge hammer) chhombur (the heavy wooden beaters used in Ladák for consolidating new metal on a road or newly laid turf, etc.)

273 MALT--lums, In Ladák, barley (nas) required for malt is cleaned and put into a large cooking pot to a depth of 6 or 8 inches and water is then poured over it, to a depth of about 3 inches.

The whole is then boiled gently till the water is absorbed by the barley which is then called "Lums."

The Lums is then taken out of the boiling pan and spread out to cool, after which it is sprinkled with a mixture of powdered ginger cloves and nutmeg, a little yeast (phaps) is also added. The whole is then mixed up and put into a sack, and covered up to keep out the cold.

In about 60 hours it ferments, it is then put into a large earthen vessel for about 18 hours during which time it rises, water is then added, and after 2 hours is drawn off and strained. This is the best kind of "chhang" (beer) and is called "machhoo." After this, water is three times more added and drawn off and strained. The resulting liquors are then mixed up together and sold as "chhang," which is a kind of small bees not much then stand up in front of the Lámás, with clasped hands and bowed heads, and certain prayers are read. The prayer book is held by a novice or Láma of low rank, and the Hlóbon or head Lama reads from it. While doing so, he holds, in his left hand a bell (treeloo) and a small drum (daroo), and in his right hand, a sceptre (dorjey) and some grains of rice and barley. He rings the bell and sounds the drum with his left hand, and with the right he scatters the grain over the heads of the young couple. The bridal party then enter the bridegroom's house where they find two mystic signs, traced by the Lámás in barley or other grain, on the floor. On one of these the bride sits, and on the other the bridegroom. 585

Between them is placed a measure, filled with grain, in which is an arrow standing up, and having a small pinnacle of clarified butter affixed to its top. The bridegroom's mother then offers "chhang" to the bride and bridegroom, after which a Láma comes and sprinkles them with holy water. This completes the religious part of the ceremony. The bridegroom, with all the males of the party, then goes to another room where dancing and merriment takes place. The bride, with all the women of the party, remains behind. After remaining a while watching the dancing, the bridegroom is permitted to retire and rejoin his bride. During the whole of the next day, the merriment is kept up, and in the afternoon the bride, dressed out in all her best, and wearing all the jewels she possesses, comes out with her husband and walks round to show herself off. She has to dance with the ladies of the party, and the bridegroom with the men. Having done this, they are at liberty to retire. The feasting is kept up that night, and the next day the guests go off to their respective homes. For seven days, bride and bridegroom remain in their house, but on the eighth day they must start on a journey, to make their bow to all their relatives. Having performed this duty, they return to their home, and begin their ordinary married life.

If the parents of the bride and bridegroom are too poor to bear the expense of a regular wedding, they arrange that the bridegroom shall come quietly some night, and elope with his lady love. 583

[99]In such cases, that is to say, in the absence of any merry-making, no civil or religious marriage ceremony is performed. If at any future time, within a year or so, the parties concerned are in a position to give the marriage feast to friends and Lámás, they 585

585 can do so, but the fact of its not being given, does not invalidate the marriage. It is considered the correct thing to give a marriage feast, for the giving of it gratifies the vanity of the person concerned, and what is far more important, if no feast is given, the bridegroom gets no "raktak" with his bride. In most oriental countries it is customary to marry a girl, at latest, so soon as she reaches the age of puberty, but in Ladák a bride is generally as much as 16 years old before she is married. Should it turn out, as not infrequently happens, that the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom does not take it amiss, not on philosophic grounds, but because he really deems it a matter of no importance.

595 585 Younger brothers of the bridegroom take no part in the marriage ceremony, though after the whole of the ceremonies are over, they become by right co-husbands, whether the lady likes it or not, and whether the elder brother likes it or not.

●583 585 The ceremonies observed at makpa weddings are similar to those of the pakston wedding, with this difference that instead of the bride being taken away to the bridegroom's house and becoming his property, the bridegroom remains at the bride's house, and becomes her property.

583 MARRY TO--pakston cho ches, to marry in the ordinary way. Pakston tang ches, to give in marriage. Makpa khiong ches to take a "makpa" husband, and makpa chha (or khier) ches, to be taken in marriage as a "makpa" husband (for "makpa" see "Husband)."

231 439 MASTIFF--zang-khee or cháng-khee. The zang khee is the real Tibetan mastiff, the cháng-khee is the Chángthang half-bred looking mastiff. The pure mastiffs are procurable only in Lhása; they are very handsome, but costly to purchase, and quite useless, as they very seldom become properly domesticated. They won't follow well, and they can't march or stand the slightest heat.

[100]

311 MEADOW--ól-tháng (a field of lucerne grass). There are no grass fields in Ladák, though turf is found near the edge of a stream.

264 262 MEAL--pakphey (atta), záches (food). The following are the meals eaten by a Ladáki during the day, viz., (1) chheenan taken at dawn, and consisting of satoo: with tea or milk; (2) tsáma or tsálma taken about 10 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea, (3) pharma taken at noon, and consisting of satoo and tea, with

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chháthum, 415
or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is 195
ladled into the cups).

TEMPLE--Ladakis have no temples, and are not addicted to congre- 346
gational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if
he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a 778
Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, 565
etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. 792
The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept 792
is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where 779
congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or 794
Rdookhang.

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco 276
plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the 439
Indian bázár.

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the 753
decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm,
which they call "So-i-boo."

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of 775
"metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in
which re-birth of the soul may take place.

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or 224
noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door,
like a rat-trap).

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys 779
konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture);
(3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood).

[162]

TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of 583
the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her
parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bride-
groom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of
this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is proba-
bly no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding
long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the
man. But see "Marriage."

Jupiter with his thunderbolt. Friday was considered a day of evil portent. 777

either unlucky or at least less propitious for the purpose." The devil tamer who was in a very good mood today, gave Lobsang Wanggyal many another piece of "good advice" of the same tenor, until the latter's head was buzzing and he no longer knew whether the horoscope was actually good or bad. The fee was moderate this time for a marriage horoscope--five rupees. But at parting the onpo called after Lobsang Wanggyal: "Be so kind as to send a sack of barley soon; I have hardly a handful of roasted barley flour for kollag and I will have to suffer hunger if I don't get something soon; this is my last kollag," and in so saying the onpo pointed at a lump of the size of about two fists. "Oh, oh (yes, yes)," answered the Dragshos rather annoyed while he walked out--he knew the "distress" of the devil-tamer only too well--and to himself he mumbled: "I shall take my time over sending him the barley." The onpo had mumbled something about "paying"; the Dragshos knew that kind of paying too. 787

The Ransom Beer (42)

583 ●

42. Tibetan holtshang (hol-ĉan). The word indicates the fact that through complicated negotations and by purchase, the bride must be "ransomed" from the control of her parents and of her tribe.

A month later a small caravan of Kalatse people walked and rode across the plateau to Tingmogang. In the early morning seven men and women had already carried seven clay jugs /following p. 64 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Lama with a magical bell and a magical dagger"; the second showing a man "at the weaver's loom."/ /65/ in carrying baskets, filled with beer, each jug containing from eight to ten liters. A little later followed Lobsang Wanggyal with his brother Stobsldan, his brother-in-law Tsang Sodnam with other men of his relation and p'as-pun, all riding on horseback. They all went immediately to the house of Norbu Wangchug. After they had arrived in the living room-kitchen, Stobsldan placed a greeting cloth (k'a-btags) (43)^ on the little table in front of the owner 584 [431]

43. k'a-btags (pronounced k'atag.), greeting cloth or greeting 000

^[cf. cat. 116, p. 60 : footnote 43 -- Analyst]

576 43. k'a-btags (pronounced k'atag), greeting cloth or greeting ribbon, usually a worthless strip of gauze-like material that is presented like a greeting card as a sign of respect and of the good wishes of the donor; if the lama has consecrated it, the k'atag is supposed to have magical powers.

584 of the house, and a second one on the edge of the stove for the lady of the house. Then the men sat down in silence on the felt carpets spread out along two walls of the room. They were seated in a long row, Lobsang Wanggyal next to the Chirpon (the master of the house), then the others ranged according to age, rank and titles, with the most distinguished nearest the stove. First the guests were treated to butter tea and flat bread cakes (ta-gir). Then they went over to the chang. The beer kegs from the Dragshos house were carried in, the women scooped the beer with ladles into the bowls of the men, and now they set about negotiating, at this ransom beer, the conclusion of the marriage contract.

583 After a number of less important points had been discussed, they arrived at the most important one--the purchase price of the 584 bride.

A long pause interrupted the lively conversation; the men looked silently down at their beer mugs; the women, who were busily going up and down serving the beer, so that no bowl would become empty, stopped and looked with tense expressions at the men from Kalatse who were to speak the first word. Finally Stobsldan broke the silence: "Now, gracious sir, Norbu Wangchug, please, speak a word! How high is the price of the mother milk (44) to be? Tell us your wishes! It is, after all, pure graciousness on your part that you give your daughter to the Dragshos; if you burden us with wool (an easy burden), that will be graciousness; if you burden us with salt (a heavy burden) that will still be graciousness; ours is only to ask."

After prolonged silence during which he seemed to draw his thoughts out of the water pipe standing in front of him, Norbu Wangchug answered as all eyes were now turned upon him: "Rab, abrin, mt'a gsum. A lot, an average amount, and a little bit--there are three kinds of measures. What shall I say? It must be so that the wolf /66/

44. Tibetan a-mai o-mai rin, meaning "price of the mother's milk." The bride's mother must be paid for the raising and feeding of the bride.

does not starve and that the little lamb does not die of hunger either. 583
You gentlemen! Bring the rope over here please!" 584

Norpel and Ishe Lhundrub, the two uncles of the girl, then got
up and put up a rope right across the entire living room fastening its
ends to the main beams of the ceiling. Then they went with mother
Deskyid into an adjoining provision room and soon came back laden
with clothes, women's ornaments and all kinds of household utensils.
The clothes were partly made of Tibetan cloth colored wine red, and [291]
partly of blue, green, brown or black European cloth, satin or muslin;
there also shone forth the sleeveless fur covering decorated with red
and green cloth, colored sashes each from two to three meters long,
the shirts with the very long sleeves, trousers whose legs resembled
pipes of about one and one-half meter's length, and--the prize possession
and the pride of the bride--the perag, the head ornament with many [301]
turquoises and many little silver and guilded amulet containers and
capsules covered with colored semi-precious stones. All these things
were hung up on the rope and especially the perag was hung in such a
way that everyone could see and admire it. The rest of the rich ornaments,
the necklace of corals and silver decoration, the earrings, the
shoulder pendants and the like, the mother displayed on two little
tables placed in readiness for the purpose. Next to this were placed in [291]
an orderly row the shoes, delicate Indian pointed shoes, next to more
clumsy Tibetan shoes made of colored cloth. Furthermore they put [415]
down there the handleless copper cooking pots which are tin-plated on
the inside, the copper dishes and plates, the wooden cylinder with the
mallet in it for the mixing of butter tea, and the tea strainer woven
out of hard, wire-like grass (45), as well as all the other household
and kitchen utensils. That is the bride's ragt'ag (46), the bride's rope
or the trousseau rope which is here put on display in order to be able to
measure the purchasing price of the bride, the "price of the mother
milk," in accordance with it. The two uncles of the bride very

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45. The botanical name of the grass is Kobresia tibetica. [137]

46. Along with the form rag-t'ag there also exists the form ras-t'ag which is apparently connected with "ras," meaning "linen cloth," "garment." Often the bride's rope is simply called "t'ag-pa" (meaning "rope") for short.

583 circumstantially set-up a list of the things, counting on their fingers and
584 setting down the prices of the individual items. In doing so they were careful not to set the prices too low for the old Chirpon had impressed this point on them. He would like to shine with his ragt'ag and he would like to outtrump all bride's fathers in the whole of Lower Ladakh, /67/ who have married off daughters in the past few years. At the mention of many a price the people from Kalatse would nudge each other and laugh secretly. Finally the list was completely drawn up and the sum was calculated. Ishe Lhundrub placed the list on the little table of the master of the house. The latter's glance went over the lines and numbers with pleasure and then his glance moved over to the ragt'ag and the entire bride's trousseau, and finally it went over the faces of the Kalatse people, examining them one by one. Now it was their turn to calculate and to bid if they could. "There, listen, you gentlemen from Kalatse," the Chirpon now spoke forth. The "price list" (rinto) comes to 220 žo. (47) According to old Ladakh custom the 'price of the mother milk' should amount to an ample fourth of the rinto. Give 60 žo, then the young gentleman Drogpa Namgyal may have the girl. You can see what kind of a bride's rope she is taking with her. Such a one there hasn't been since the days of our forefathers in Lower Ladakh." /The last quotation mark is conjectural since there is none in the original text--translator./

The Kalatse people bowed their heads That was a lot.. Typical of the Chirpon! This is the way they had known him. Always driving a bargain! This is the way he had acted also as village magistrate of Tingmogang. In all circumstances he knew how to feather his nest: when he collected the taxes, when he settled a dispute and otherwise whenever an opportunity presented itself; and now in haggling over the sale of his daughter. He would have been the last one to give his daughter away to one of those indebted "noble galon's sons" just to pay his debts off. But they knew how to take him. There now started a haggling and a bargaining which increased in violence in proportion

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[436] 47. 1 žo is equivalent to 6 rupees in old Tibetan currency, the rupee is equivalent to four jau (1 jau equals 3.25 anna, which in turn is equal to 28 Pfennige). The old Tibetan rupee had only four-fifths of the value of an Indian rupee. Thus 220 žo equal 1,320 Tibetan rupies, the equivalent of 1,056 Indian rupees, amounting to 1,408 mark.

to the decreasing of the number of filled chang kegs. Their brown 583 faces assumed a shining copper color, the voices became increasingly 584 loud and more excited while the bride's father stuck to his demands with the stubbornness and obstinacy with which they were all familiar. Finally Stobsldan asked him, "Is this your final word, gaga?" Yes, my last, by the 'three jewels' (48)!" "This is too much," shouts Stobsldan, whose customary politeness had been smothered by alcohol, at the people from Tingmogang, "the old money-grabber wants to make a profit. The whole rope is not worth 120 žo. The gaga is trying the make a fool of us! Come, Lobsang Wanggyal, we shall go home! Your son /68/ can get ten brides if he wants them; there are many other pretty, decent and wealthy girls in Sham (Lower Ladahk). Give us back the coral necklace, Chirpon, and tomorrow we shall send you back the large copper pot (zan-bu) that you sent over to us. Then you may wait until a rGyallu (royal prince) courts

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48. In Tibetan the oath goes: "dKon-mĉog gsum" (pronounced "konchog sum!"), the "Three Jewels"; they are the components of the Buddhistic trinity: Buddha, the Law, and the Monkhood. The Buddhistic Tibetan has constant oaths on his lips with which he believes it necessary to reinforce even quite unimportant statements and assertions, a proof of how much and how readily the great majority of them lie. Other oaths are: "May the monastery get me (dgon-pas nam śig)!" by which the gods are meant, whose pictures are in the monastery; they are asked to "come and get" the person uttering the oath. The subordinate clause, "If my statement is not true," remains unexpressed. The form "sku t'san-mas nam śig, may all the gods get me!" also occurs. Another form which is to be heard daily, is "a-mai śa, or bu-t'sai sa," which means "the mother's flesh, the son's flesh," which is also used with he naming of a particular name, "T'serin-gi śa, Rol-mai śa, Tsering's flesh, Rolma's flesh." Tibetans explained to me that this meant: "If I have lied I shall eat the flesh of my mother, of my son, the flesh of Tsering, the flesh of Rolma," an oath which is supposed to derive from the time when cannibalism prevailed in Tibet. In court there often appear false witnesses who, bribed with a few annas, swear to everything that is demanded of them. [195]

●583
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your daughter. Come, everyone, you Acho-No (older and younger brothers)! We are all going home! The people here are like hungry wolves!"

Everybody looked at Norbu Wangchug who was sitting there with a sullen smile. Then fat Norpel, the brother of the lord of the house, got up clumsily, seized Lobsang Wanggyal who was just preparing to get up, by his sleeve, and said: "Please, please, my little brother! You should not get angry immediately. After all, one should be able to talk about business matters." And then turning to his brother he said: "Just be gracious, Acho (older brother)! Look at the grieved face of Lobsang Wanggyal! Think of the fine, elegant house and of the respectable, pious people to whom Chosskyid would come as a bride! If I had a daughter I would give her immediately to the Nono Drogpa Namgyal. What a fine boy that is. He has the gait and the posture of a prince. And he can ride and play polo, nobody equals him in that. At the same time he is an efficient farmer and takes religion seriously like all Dragshos. Do say another good word to the gentlemen from Kalatse!"

A long silence ensued. As though by accident, the water pipe had again come around to the old Chirpon, who drew forth from it thick clouds of smoke. Finally the gurgling of the pipe ceased and the old man, still very angered, exclaimed: "You gentlemen are surely sensible persons and not like a yak bull which has a red cloth put in front of it. After all, I am not a wolf who strangles sheep and goats out of greed, nor am I a fox who steals his neighbors' chickens. Ask the gentlemen of my tribe here, the p'as-pun and the neighbors in the entire valley whether I have wrongfully appropriated so much as a needle"--and in so saying he took one of the many large sewing needles which were stuck in a row in his hat, in his hand and held it up high. In the back two small farmers from Teya nudged each other significantly. They knew /69/ better. "Now look at this tagpa (rope)!" the Chirpon went on, "have you ever seen one like it? But so you can see that I am a reasonable, God-fearing man, I shall deduct five žo from the 'price of the mother's milk.' Give me 55 žo and you can have the girl!"

Lobsang Wanggyal nudged his brother: "My little brother, now you talk!" They quietly exchanged a few words and then Stobsldan spoke up: "55 žo is too much; far too much. Just consider, when Chosskyid comes into the Dragshos house, that house will be your house. If you ruin the house by your unreasonable demands you also

bring misfortune upon your daughter. So that you may see that we are 583
honorable and reasonable people, we offer you 50 zo from the whole 584
Dragshos tribe together, and not a paisa (49) more. We do not have half of that in cash, but we p'as-pun will all put our resources together and whatever amount we are still short then, we shall borrow. And at the drabchang and the nyenchang (the 'beers' yet to follow) we shall discuss the matter again." Norpel called cheerfully over to Stobsldan: "Drig, drig (good, good)! Come, have another drink! You bomo (girls) pour us some more!" The further conversation was drowned out in the general babel of voices and the clinking of the metal beer mugs.

Suddenly everything became quiet. Two young women stepped 533
into the room, bowed deeply in front of the master of the house and the other men and at the same time alternately touched their foreheads with the tips of their fingers of both hands and beat together the bracelets on their wrists, made of snail-shells, which produced a clear sound. In so doing they called out: "Please permit us to sing you a song!" And now the two sang the Song of the beautiful Tseringskyid (50).

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49. 1 paisa is the 64th part of a rupee in Indian currency. [436]

50. From the collection of Tibetan folksongs, Ladakhi Songs, edited in cooperation with Rev. S. H. Ribbach and Dr. E. Shawe by Dr. A. H. Francke. The songs of this collection have been translated by Professor Francke into English and in part also into German. The translation from Tibetan into the German of the song cited is done by the author of the present work.

First Girl	Oh, did you not see my companion?	533
	Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid?	534
Second Girl	Your companion, I know her not,	
	Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.	
	There just passed by a maiden fair,	
	Her body was as of pure gold.	
/70/ First Girl	Oh, did you not see my companion?	
	Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid?	
Second Girl	Your companion, I know her not,	
	Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.	
	There passed by a girl with hair so rich,	

showed herself beautifully dressed in the door of the room but then she disappeared again into an adjacent room for the remainder of the festivities. 000

The Consultation and the Ordering Beer (57)

Again a month passed by. The Kalatse family were pressing for haste with the wedding. They did not trust the old fox Norbu Wangchug, because with his greed he might again come with greater demands and overthrow all their plans. And so the Dragshos people soon gathered for their consultation beer. This time they were among themselves, without the Chirpon /73/ people. There the worthy men were again seated in a long row on the felt carpets along the two walls of the living room-kitchen; at the head was the lonpo from Domkhar, a tall, slender man of advanced years with an intelligent face which betrayed strong Aryan racial characteristics. Next to him sat the Dragshos Lobsang Wanggyal, then there followed a number of relatives and men of the clan. After everyone had emptied a few bowls of beer and a song had been sung, Lobsang Wanggyal got up, took a copper plate from the smoke-blackened wooden shelf on the wall, on which there lay some heaped-up grains of barley. On top of this he placed a piece of Tibetan paper which had been lightly rolled together and wound about with a tsanpa (greeting ribbon). Then he solemnly placed the plate with the paper on the little table in front of the lonpo without saying a word. The latter pretended not to notice anything, did not blink an eyelash, sat pondering for a while, took a deep draught of beer from the bowl, seized the paper, and said, interrupting the general silence: "You gentlemen! We have come together in order to consult with each other how we can help our friend and relative, the Dragshos Lobsang Wanggyal, since he wants to bring a bride to his son. You all know that this is an expensive proposition which one person alone cannot manage. Therefore we, his relatives and members of the tribe, must help. The Dragshos' cause must be our cause. As the proverb says: 'Joy, sorrow--turn of the goats, turn of the cows' (58). Just as the turn for guarding the goats or the cows in our village 583●

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57. Tibetan drabs-ĉan and bcol-ĉan.

58. Tibetan Skyid-sdug ra-res ba-res.

583 goes around from one to the other, so that today it is your turn and tomorrow mine, so does joy and sorrow alternate: today I am afflicted with sorrow and you are in joy, tomorrow it is the other way round. Today the Dragshos needs our help and we want to give it to him; next year he will perhaps have to help one of us who may be in distress. Thus we want to help our friend the Dragshos in bearing the heavy burden of the bride purchase and the expenses of the wedding." In so saying the lonpo carefully opened the metal pen case which he carried around stuck inside his sash, dipped the reed pen into a copper inkwell which hung on a little belt at his side, and wrote his contribution down on the slip of paper--30 rupees. Then followed the gopa (village magistrate) of Domkhar with 15 rupees, and the others with contributions /74/ of from five to seven rupees each. Everyone signed with his house name and with the name by which he was called; those who were unable to write put down their seal with the iron signet that they brushed with ink, or else they placed the impression of their blackened thumb next to the figure which someone able to write put down.

When this transaction had been finished Lobsang Wanggyal heaved a sigh of relief. His clan had not left him in the lurch. They had taken away from him a good part of the burden which he had had to shoulder. He could count himself lucky. Things rarely went as smoothly and without friction as they had in this case. It had often happened that at the consultation beer endless haggling and bargaining, quarrels and disputes within the clan and the circle of relatives had taken place.

584 A week later the families from both houses concerned already gathered for the final "beer" (59), the "Ordering beer" (bcol-ĉan).

59. If the wedding is postponed because the families cannot come to an agreement over the "price of the mother milk," the choice of guests, the distribution of the expenses, and other things of the kind, as this is often the case, then the "beers" named are followed by several others with always new names.

Aside from those already named, five young men, the Nyaopas (60),

60. Nyaopa (gnya-bo-pa) means witness. The Nyaopas are in a certain sense the marriage witnesses and at the wedding they also have the duties of best men. The often-used form

satisfied by the answers to their questions; now the gate is opened, the people from Kalatse enter the yard preceded by the Nyaopas and march towards the house door. There the female relatives, friends and bridesmaids are expecting the Nyaopas. They pretend to be angry and hit the "bride robbers" (96) over the back with osier switches. A few rupees which the sNatridpa hand out to the fair ones, allay their assumed anger and now the Nyaopas may enter the house with the closest relatives. The company goes through the dark stable and

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the Nyaopas. Thus there may have been groups of primitive altars erected in the courtyard, three, six, nine or more. Of these each group has a mythological significance which must be guessed by the Nyaopas. Once this has been done the Nyaopas may destroy the group concerned, until all these "altars" have been destroyed.

96. This entire game, the beating of the Nyaopas as "robbers of the bride," the destruction of the altars in the yard, is a reminder of the fact that the stealing of the bride and the fighting for her, was formerly the universally customary form of obtaining the bride among the Tibetans as well as among other Mongolian and Aryan races (so it was among the Romans, Greeks and Germans). Among many of these peoples mock battles for the bride are still staged today before the wedding; they point to the bloody fights of former times, as, e.g., among the Semitic Bedouins in Iraq, in Egypt, and in India. Among the Russians there are also to be found customs which reflect the practice of stealing the bride, like driving the bride through the fire in a troika. In later times the somewhat milder practice of purchasing the bride took the place of the abduction of the bride. Even today it still happens in Tibet that the bride is "abducted" by her suitor. But this abduction (bag-ma rku-ba) is nowadays usually a completely bloodless undertaking, being often a preconcerted game between the two heads of families concerned, who want to bring the marriage about in the simplest and cheapest manner possible. Twice I have witnessed such a "bride abduction." In such a case the entire ceremonial and the expensive celebrations are omitted. [583]

301 By the time she is grown up, a girl should thus have quite a good sized *perag*,[1] which functions as
291 757 her dowry, in fact she regards it as her bank, for she invests
● 583 money in turquoises as a provision for widowhood or old age.
478 The mother's *perag* usually goes to the eldest daughter at
[583] her marriage, after which the mother must be content with a
small one. As the eldest son inherits all land property, so
152 the eldest daughter inherits all ornaments. Unfortunately
the number and size of the turquoises on a head-dress are a
source of great jealousy, and a lady with a very resplendent
301 *perag* is often one of suspicious morals. In olden times the
291 ladies of high rank in Ladak all wore ear-flaps of sable, brought
from beyond Yarkand, but now these are seen only on the
Queen and the old Queen Mother. Another custom traceable to a royal indisposition is that of wearing a large gold and
silver ornament in front of the neck at weddings. This
originated from the desire of a Queen on such an occasion to
hide a goitre which disfigured her neck.

301 The women also have many other ornaments. Ear-rings of seed-pearls, threaded on a large wire hoop, which passes round the whole ear, with one or two turquoises and corals at the bottom of the circle. Necklaces composed of little chased gold amulet boxes, interspersed with coral and turquoise, or other less elaborate ones, made with red beads and little silver ornaments. Silver chatelaines worn on the breast, with picks for nose, ears, teeth and other purposes, and large round brass ornaments at the waist from which leather threads pass to a brass needle-case, to the other side of which are attached a number of chains of cowries, also threaded on leather. Finally bracelet-cuffs, made of chased silver or white shell, used to knock together in salutation but also convenient for keeping back the long sleeves.

291 Here is another custom the reverse of ours, for whereas European women wear short sleeves, in summer at any rate (the Ladakis probably think this must be to economize stuff), both men and women in this country have them cut very

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[1] [i.e., turquoise studded headdress. - ANALYST]

At the end of two years the lad's head is shaved, all except 852
a piece of hair, which is the rudiment of his pigtail, and which is now carefully preserved, dressed and well-greased with butter; this being an occasion, it is celebrated gastronomically and no doubt alcoholically.

We now come to the nuptial ceremonies, but it is quite 584
unnecessary to wait for them till years of discretion have 591
arrived, nor does Cupid have much to do with the wounding of Ladaki hearts, although even here there are occasions when the flight of his arrow is mortal. The women of Ladak enjoy a perennial leap-year, for in this country it is as becoming for a woman to be the aggressor in matters of marriage as it is for a man, and perhaps, in this respect, we are "the wrong way round" after all. When the lady is the active party, the husband brought to her house is called a *magpa*, but if she is taken as a bride to his house, she is called a *gnama*. The [421]
property belongs to the active partner, irrespective of sex.

Three methods of getting married are sanctioned by 583 ●
custom. The first has of necessity fallen into disuse since the Ladakis were conquered by the Dogras. It was the prerogative of any rajah or ruler, who wished to reward a man for services rendered, to grant him the power of choosing any girl he liked in the country as his bride. Thus a man of low degree could aspire to the hand of a great lady.

The second method is frankly to steal the chosen partner. The selection having been made, only relatives are admitted into the secret. No big wedding-feast is prepared, just a small 586
one is made where the native beer or *chang* alone is unlimited. Grand wedding-garments are not permissible, and the actual ceremony is very simple, consisting merely in the bride and bridegroom each donning a very small white head-dress, called the *mgo ras*, while there are no religious rites. The *gnama* or *magpa*, as the case may be, has to say "*zhu-le*" to everybody, friend or no friend, hence the proverb: "The bridegroom or bride must say '*zhu*' even to the cat or dog."

585 The next day a deputation must go to the house from which the passive partner was stolen to say "*zhu*." They are accompanied by a rhetorician, and take with them some jars of beer, some bread, tea, butter and a salutation-scarf. If the parents are amenable to the transaction they accept the presents, and receive the deputation ; but if they object to the alliance, the welcome of these representatives is all too warm—they are ejected with kicks and blows, while the parents and their supporters go to the temporary home of their child, try to wreck it, and recover the stolen one by force. Hence another proverb says : "The parents are their children's
•583 judges." The causes which precipitate such a stolen marriage are (1) absolute inability to afford the orthodox nuptials ; (2) temporary financial disability, as at any future time the arrangement may be ratified with full ceremonials ; and (3) if the desired partner is betrothed to someone else, to secure him or her by theft ; (4) if the *Onpo's* date does not satisfy the couple, they marry on their own day, and have the official rites on his.

585 Lastly there is the orthodox wedding with all its attendant
791 ceremonies. For this neither parents nor child must decide on their choice before they have consulted the *Onpo*. To this gentleman they tell the name and date of birth of the prospective mate, and can only proceed if he declares, after searching his books, that year and person are auspicious. Lamas, as a
585 rule, do not provide this information. The marriage may take place when the children are very young, but it is not consummated till after they are twelve, and, even at this tender age, little Ladaki girls sometimes become mothers.
584 Thus the Ladaki parents have to think about the future alliance when the child is still young ; as their proverb says : "The difficulty of the father is to get a wife for his son."

Let us follow this father in his difficult path, supposing the child for whom he wishes to find a mate is a son. The first overtures are made by a third party, who must never go

586 gaiety does not stand the test of time, divorce can be obtained by payment of an animal. The Ladaki proverb thus states [638] the situation : " If the husband is turned out he can demand a pony, but the wife can expect a cow." The horse and cow given need only be strong enough to walk round a dunghill. If one of the pair dies and was the owner of the house, the living partner is tied by a piece of string to the corpse of the other, and when the string is broken by pulling on it, the marriage-tie is also broken. Such means are only resorted to if the living partner wishes to leave the house, but he or she may remain if preferred. In the former case nothing need be paid on leaving the house, and the party's own goods may be taken away also. Thus each takes his or her own property, and the one who was brought to the house must also pay for a large part of the wedding festivities.

● 583 Obviously the easiest method of marrying is by stealing, after which it is also much easier to divorce. An additional advantage to the young people is that they may choose each other instead of being subject to their parents' selection. [565] Also little care is taken to preserve class.

If the divorcée returns to her parents' home, she is not 586 allowed to enter her parents' temple, and sometimes she is 614 not even allowed to sit in front of their fire-place, because at marriage she joined another *paspun*.

587 A man or woman may marry a second time, but there are 595 no wedding festivities. Should the first wife bear her husband no children, he may take a second one or *Chanchung*. If possible she should be the younger sister of the first wife, if not, a cousin or near relation. If she produces no posterity, the husband must do without. The first wife retains priority of rank, even though the second becomes a mother. If a *magpa* and his bride have no children, a *Chanchung* is brought for the *magpa*, she being a near relative of the heiress.

595 Before leaving the subject of marriage, we must say a little more about the customs of polyandry, as Ladak is one

595 marriages. The woman's marriage, in this
[601] case, is known as a *magpa* marriage. It
428 differs from the *bagma* marriage in that
581 the woman is head of the family. The
592 husbands are married to her and she can
do exactly as she wants with them.

595 The most important point to grasp in
126 polyandry is that the house is the axis
around which the system functions. In
592 taking down genealogical notes I have,
therefore, always given the family the
name of the house.

595 A specialized case I came across was
583 that of an only son of the house called
Tsungarpa who married one woman,
428 the heiress to the Bata house (see FIGURE
1).[1] All her brothers were dead, so that

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[1] P. 213c FIGURE 1

575 she and her husband actually owned two
583 houses and they had what, on the surface,
428 looked like an ordinary monogamous marriage However, the two properties were not amalgamated. The woman was to carry on the name of Bata and the man that of the Tsungarpa house. Consequently, of the three boys which issued from this marriage, the first two inherited the Tsungarpa house, while the youngest inherited his mother's house and was entrusted with carrying on the name of that family.

[428] One of the sons of these three brothers,
842 Murup, inherited the Bata house from his
587 uncle, but remained childless after twenty
562 years of marriage. In such a case, oddly
357

595
583
428

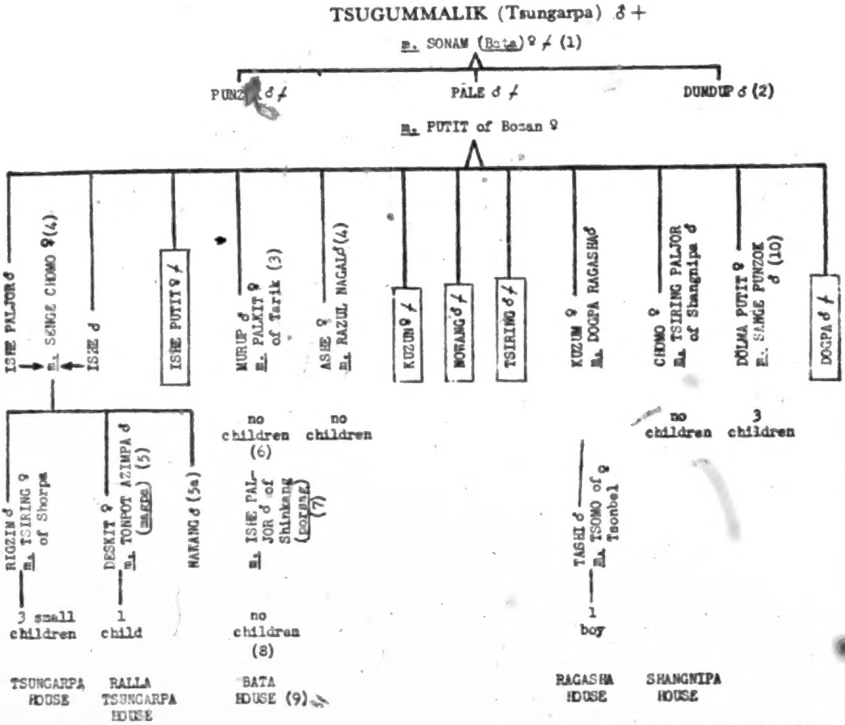
TSUGUMMALIK (Tsungarpa) ♂ †
m. SONAM (Bata) ♀ † (1)
PUNZOK ♂ †
PALE ♂ †
DUNDUP ♂ (2)
m. PUTIT of Bozan ♀
ISHE PALJOR ♂
m. SENGE CHOMO ♀ (4)
ISHE ♂
ISHE PUTIT ♀ †
MURUP ♂
m. PALKIT ♀ of Tarik (3)
ASHE ♀
m. RAZUL NAGAI ♂ (4)
KUZUN ♀ †
NOWANG ♂ †
TSIRING ♂ †
KUZUM ♀
m. DOGPA RAGASHA ♂
CHOMO ♀
m. TSIRING PALJOR of Shangnipa ♂
DOLMA PUTIT ♀
m. SANGE PUNZOK ♂ (10)
DOGPA ♂ †
no children (6)
no children
no children
3 children
RIGZIN ♂
m. TSIRING ♀ of Shorpa
DESKIT ♀
m. TONPOT AZIMPA ♂ (magpa) (5)
NAWANG ♂ (5a)
m. ISHE PALJOR ♂ of Shinkang (porsag) (7)
TASHI ♂
m. TSOMO of Tsonbel ♀
3 small children
1 child
no children (8)
1 boy
TSUNGARPA HOUSE
RALLA TSUNGARPA HOUSE
BATA HOUSE (9)
RAGASHA HOUSE
SHANGNIPA HOUSE

FIGURE 1. The Tsungarpa house. (1) Heiress to the Bata house—all brothers dead. (2) Put in charge of the lone Bata house. (3) Given the Bata house. (4) A Mohammedan—the woman takes the man's religion. (5) Land only held in tenancy. (5a) Becomes a Lama at Himis monastery. (6) After 20 years. (7) Murup is single-handed. (8) After 4 years. (9) Could adopt a child to carry on. (10) No land, as formerly Mohammedan; messenger at Himis monastery. † Deceased.

-- 313c (Figure 1) --

585 on the floor in a deep niche for us to sit upon. Other guests, native, were already there, and they greeted us politely as we sat down.

We had hardly been there a few minutes, when the bridal procession was heard arriving. Two drumming Garas preceded it, and they were followed by the bride herself, completely trussed up in a white sheet and carried bodily on the back of a man. These two were followed in turn by a crowd of women led by three young men whom I heard are called *nya-opa* (*gNya-ao-pa*) meaning "witness". They had flowers and bits of straw in their hats and wore colourful clothes. It seemed that three of them (including the man carrying the bride) had always to be related to the bridegroom, while the two others need only be of his village.

All these people had been to fetch the bride from her home, and they ● [583] had done it in the traditional way, which was to steal her. She had been surprised in the fields while she was at work, covered by the sheet in which she was now wrapped, and carried away by one of the *nya-opa*, the *Na-tri-pa* (*sNa-aK'hrid-pa*), literally "the one who conducts (the bride) by the nose". She put up a show of resistance and, as she arrived near the house in which we waited, she was crying out and bemoaning her fate in truly traditional way. This is compulsory, it appears, in order to give the impression that the girl is modest and respectable, unwilling to leave her parents and be married off to some strange man (or men). Should she walk of her own accord to her future hunsbands' house, for instance, it would be considered the height of indecency, giving the impression that she wanted to leave her old home and go to that of her betrothed.

The white bundle which was the bride was deposited in the yard of the house at the feet of a woman standing there. Upon enquiry, I heard that the latter was a relative of the bridegrooms, and now had a role to play. Sure enough, as soon as the bride touched the ground, the woman sat down beside her, and the new arrival collapsed ceremoniously across her knees, continuing to wail and to cry out in a perfect performance. The Gara drummers settled down opposite, on the other side of the yard, and continued to beat their instruments as loudly as they could, as if they wanted to drown the laments of the wailing bride.

585 789 Three lamas from the local monastery then came out of the house. The first one carried a stone slab with three little figures kneaded out of *tsampa* (*Tsam-pa*) (barley flour) on it, one of them with a lighted candle in front of it and another with a little pillar, also made of *tsampa*, standing before it. These were called *tsa-sum* (*Ts'ha-gSum*), and were

the first one and with mutual consent. The first wife will always have 595
the right to preside over the household, as she is the senior.

If a family has no heirs, it is possible for it to adopt one. This right 597
is practised by persons of both sexes, whether they are married or not. The institution is called *Bu-skal* (*Bu-sKal*) or *Bu-dod* (*Bu-dod*), which words have the significance of "child-instead". The general rule is that the person to be adopted is taken from among the kinsmen of the husband and is married with a girl chosen out of the relatives of the wife. On the other hand, if a girl is adopted from among the relations of the husband, a *mag-pa* must be brought in to her from the agnates of the wife. If the adopted child is taken from a family having no blood relation with the adopting person, *chang* and presentation scarves called *Kha-tag* (*K'ha-bTags*) are offered to the parents and relatives of the person to be adopted. In certain cases, this offer is repeated more than once and *Khatags* are placed on the neck of the person to be adopted and those of his parents again and again until they give way. If the adoption is made from among the kindred, the ceremony of giving *chang* and offering food in a family repast is considered sufficient. The [428]
adoption is in most cases recorded in writing in the form of a deed; the person adopting binds himself or herself to recognize the adopted child as his or her only legal heir. Should a child be born to the adopting person after this, the offspring will not be able to take the place of the adopted person, the deed of adoption being irrevocable.

2. *Betrothal and wedding ceremonies*

Betrothal takes place at a very early age in Ladak – usually before ten 584
with regard to the girl, between that age and twelve with regard to the boys. First, horoscopes of the potential candidates are taken, and the [787]
parents (or guardians) of the bridegroom or bridegrooms call at the house of the bride to present *chang* and *khatags* to her parents. This ceremony bears the name of *Tri chang* (*Tri-ch'hang*) and in it the petitioning party makes the offer six or seven times to express insistence.

When this part of the proceedings is finished, the parents of the girl accept the request, but demand for themselves and for their daughter more *chang*, tea, butter, *khatags* and food. All relatives of both sides take part in this ritual which is known as *Hol-chang* (*Hol-ch'hang?*) or *Tri-chang chen-mo* (*Tri-ch'hang ch'hen-mo*), "the great ask *chang*".

This is followed by the important *Nyen-chang* (*gNyen-ch'hang*) or [583]
"relatives' *chang*". The bride-to-be's relatives receive more *chang*, [421]
loaves, meat, tea, butter and *khatags*, as well as the bridegroom's con-

584 tribution to the dowry, called *Rin-t'ho* (*Rin-t'ho*), "price list". This
● [583] will eventually constitute part of the wife's own personal property, called
[421] *Rag-tag* (*Rag-rTags?*), which can never be included in that of her husband or husbands, except by inheritance after her death. The second part of this ceremony consists in the essential *Go-ras* (*mGo-ras*) or "cotton cloth", the laying of *khatags* on the head of the bride (or brides if a *mag-pa* is married to more than one sister) which is a point of no return. If a betrothal is broken up after this ritual has taken place it is incumbent to act as though a divorce were necessary since the parties are considered to be as good as married. The near relatives of the girl receive more *khatags* from the bridegroom's family, and a piece of cloth is taken to the kitchen where it is tied round one of the pots. Other presents, such as ornaments, cash and turquoises are sometimes added here to the gifts made to the family of the bride.

In return, the visiting party receives a piece of cloth and a dish to take home. The latter will then plan the wedding feast, called *Bag-ston*
[585] (*Bag-ston*), in every detail, calculate what the total of the dowry will
[436] amount to in *jos* (equivalent to Rupees 4/13/–), and decide the auspicious date upon which the final rites will take place.

585 If the girl's parents do not give their consent to the marriage of their
[583] daughter as they are being requested to do, the boy's or boys' relatives will try and carry off the bride. The ceremony of laying the *go-ras* on her head will take place in the house of a male relative of hers, to whom presents have previously been given, and the marriage will be consummated immediately afterwards. The wife will then be sent home to her parents for some time. After they have been informed of what has happened, and forgiveness for the *fait accompli* has been obtained by repeated offerings of *chang* and *khatags*, the full wedding ceremony will take place. The latter bears the name of *Bag-log* (*Bag-log*) or "return wedding", but the wedding ritual in its entirety is called *Bagma-sbaste* (*Bagma-sBaste*) or "marriage by stealth". The same can apply to a *mag-pa* wedding, when it is called *Magpa-sbaste*.

[584] In the case of adults, the parties themselves arrange for their marriage, and there is no special wedding ceremony. After a period of cohabitation between the partners, the husband (or eldest of them) will visit the parents of the woman and give them *chang* and *khatags* in order to be accepted. Their consent, however, is not necessary for the union to be valid. This procedure is known in Ladak as *Pot'had-mot'had* (*Po-aT'had Mo-aT'had*), "male, female acceptance".

Although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak

584

584 ARRANGING A MARRIAGE--marriage preliminaries; courtship (e.g., opportunities, methods); initiation of negotiations (e.g., by youth, by girl, by parents of either); conduct of negotiations (e.g., by parents, through a go-between); marriage brokers; proposal of marriage; methods and consequences of rejection; requirement of consent (e.g., of youth, of girl, of parents, of chief); betrothal (e.g., conceptualization, announcement, ceremonial, symbols, duration); status and behavior of betrothed persons; infant betrothal (e.g., prevalence, procedure, nullification); breaking an engagement (e.g., reasons, procedure, consequences); adjustment to death of betrothed (e.g., substitution of a sibling); etc. See also:

Sex status	562	Sexual overtures	832
Contractual relationships	675	Adolescent activities	883

were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word. 000

BELL--teeloo or treelo (small or hand bell) and SHnga (large). The 534
SHnga is not unlike a small Church bell, it does not swing but
is sounded by means of a string, tied to the tongue, which is
thus made to strike the bell. tripSHil (the bells usually seen
on the breast band of the ponies of Lámas and Lhása men).

BETROTH TO--treechhang (or teechhang) stàr ches, among Ladákis, 584
betrothals, which are the occasion for a little drinking of tea
and chhang,[1] are arranged by parents in consultation with
relatives. Having fixed upon a match, which from a wordly [787]
point of view, seems desirable, they then refer to the lámas, [793]
to see if the destinies of the proposed couple suit. If they are
found to be unsuited the betrothal is given up. A youth is be-
trothed when he is about 20 years of age, and a girl perhaps
two years earlier. After the betrothal or "teechhang stàr ches, 585
the wedding or "pakston" may take place within a month, or
it may be put off for a year or more. If a male child pos- 768
sessing property, is left alone in the world, he is betrothed at 584
once to some fully grown woman, who acts, as [11] his nurse
during his childhood, and as his wife during his later years.
This is not found an inconvenient practice as a Tibetan may [575]
have two "little" wives, in addition to his original "pakston"
wife. The dowry (rinto) is fixed at the time of betrothal, but 585
it is not given till the marriage takes place, and sometimes
even after that. This dowry is paid by the bridegroom to the
father or other nearest male relative of the bride.

BIBLE--zhalchat hngáma is the word used by Missionaries, meaning 000
"mouth promise former." If an ordinary villager used the expression, he would mean that he had obtained a promise actually from the mouth of some superior. See also under "Gospel".

BLESS TO--chagyang táng ches. This term is applicable to the 793
"laying on of hands" or blessing, bestowed by a high lama, 788
or incarnation, placing his hand on the bowed and bared
heads of the laymen kneeling before him. The general word
for "to bless" is "skiopches" God bless you; konjok kiol la
skiopSHes dzat SHik. Chinlap táng ches is "to give sacred
pills".

[1] [i.e, barley beer-- Analyst]

appreciated by foreigners, but constituting the national drink of the people of Ladák. 273

[97]MARRIAGE--pakston or respectfully skoobak. After the "betrothal" ceremony (see Betrothal) has been performed, a month or two is usually allowed to elapse before the wedding takes place, though sometimes a year or more passes between the time of betrothal and the time of marriage. When a day has been fixed for the marriage, the procedure is as follows:-- 584 ●

On the day fixed, the relatives (nien) of the bride (pakma) assemble at the bride's house, and those of the bridegroom (pakpho) at the bridegroom's house. At night-fall the bridegroom goes with from 5 to 7 of his friends (ngiópa) to the bride's house, he finds the outer door (giázGHo) of the yard (stárá) shut, and guarded by male relatives of the bride, he gives a few rupees to them and they then allow him to enter, but when passing between this gate and the door leading into the house itself (giázGHoi nángkuk) he is surrounded by the bride's female relatives, who pretend to be very angry, and beat him with small sticks. To these also the bridegroom has to give a few rupees, and he is then allowed to enter the house. The bridegroom, with his friends, is then feasted by the bride's relatives, but the bride does not appear. Much "chhang" drinking, music and dancing is indulged in, till about 1 or 2 o'clock the next morning, when the best man (ngiátheetpa or ngiáthritpa) accompanied by some of the older male relatives of the bridegroom, goes to the kitchen (mákhang) in company with the parents and relatives of the bride. The bridegroom and the rest of his party do not go to the kitchen. 585

The guests take their seats in the kitchen and each one puts his drinking cup (korey) on the ground in front of him and "chhang' is then handed round by a male relative of the bride's, accompanied by one of female relatives, who has a stick in one hand. The latter takes up the cup of each guest in turn and fills it, and if the guest fails to drink freely, she beats him. This ceremony is called "nanchhang" or "insistance chhang." During this time a ceremony known as "thóhloo" is taking place, it is enacted by two old men, one being a relative of the bride and the other a relative of the bridegroom. First the relative of the bride gets up and sings a sonnet in praise of the bridegroom; the other old man must then get up and reply, by singing a

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601 WIDOWER--dazan or phórang.

WT
601 [170]WIFE--áney or zhidmát [illegible] toks or troks. But see also "Husband" and "Remarriage.

WT
● 584 WOO TO--Ladákis don't "woo," as their parents settle their marriages for them.

WT
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272 [171]YEW BARK--sangldan-i pakspa. The poor Ladákis use it as tea. They slightly roast it, powder it, boil it up with water, and then add soda and ghee.

WT
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431 [172]ZIAFAT--phoks. This is the term for the presents of sheep, ghee, etc., which, in accordance with the custom of the Kashmir State, used to be made to the British Joint Commissioner in Ladák, each year, on his return from India to Leh. This practice has been discontinued since 1887.

[174] ORIGIN OF THE LAPCHAK MISSION, etc.

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I am indebted to Dr. Marx, of the Moravion Mission, for a translation of a portion of the History of Ladák, written by Bering Wang Chung, which enables me to give the following explanation, regarding the origin of the Lapchak and Chhaba Missions, of the so-called "Minsar Jágeer" of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the refusal of the Lhása authorities to allow foreigners, other than natives of Ladák, to enter Lhása Territory viá Ladák.

About 180 years ago, when Lha-chhen-lde-leks-rnam-rgiál was king of Ladak, a mixed force of Mongols (the Tibetan word for Mongol is Sokpo) and Lhása men invaded and conquered Ladák. For three years they held possession of the country, but then "the Náwáb of Kashmir" sent up a force to aid the Ladåkis, and the invaders were defeated, and compelled to retreat to Táshis-gang (about 8 miles east of Demjok), where they entrenched themslves, [sic] and arranged for a treaty of peace in the following manner.

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The Drukpa (red sect) Omniscient Láma, named Mee-pham-wángpo, who in his former incarnations had always been the patron Láma of the kings of Ladák, from generation to generation, was sent from Lhása to Táshis-gang, to arrange the conditions of a treaty of peace--for the Ladák king could never refuse to abide by the decision of the Omniscient one.

581 laughed loudly and extravagantly. Now Stobsldan started in again: "And just think of the 'rope' (31) that Chosskyid will bring with her;

31. The rope on which are hung the clothes that are used for the trousseau, the underclothes, shoes, and the like.

such a one you will not find again in the whole of Sham (Lower Ladakh)." Then Tsering Putrid spoke up: "You are right, Acho (32), if we get

[576] 32. Acho (a-jo) means "elder brother" and is the way an older man is addressed by younger men and also by women; a younger man is addressed by "No."

that rope (bride's rope) for Namgyal in our house then we shall be in fine shape and all the galons and lonpos (noblemen) in entire Ladakh will envy us. It is true, to be sure, that Chosskyid is not a very industrious girl; I hardly ever see her go out with the tsepo on her back or spinning while she is walking (with the hand spindle); but just let her get into this house; once she is here I shall teach her to work all right. Palskyid, my daughter-in-law over there, after all only learned it from me to be so industrious in the field and in the house. Chosskyid will change here ways too, just watch! And she is a pretty girl, there is not a girl in the entire district who can compare with her, and she has a gait and a posture like a shema (33).

[565] 33. shema is a noblewoman, the wife of a galon or of a lonpo. (a woman of nobility)."

584 Nobody made any objections; they abided by this decision: the great landholder Norbu Wangchug in Tingmogang was to be asked on behalf of Namgyal to give his daughter in marriage. In the evening his father asked Namgyal whether he agreed with this. To this the boy answered that if he was not allowed to have Trashi Rolma, it was a matter of complete indifference to him whom he married. He hardly knew the girl Chosskyid and he had also heard that she had someone completely different in mind for herself; he believed that she wanted to rise to higher stations in life.

As soon as the following day, but not too early because his head was still heavy from the consultations and from the chang of the previous evening, Stobsldan saddled his horse and rode to Tingmogang to buy some barley from Norbu Wangchug. It is true that he preferred to buy from other farmers because the old Chirpon (34) had a mean trick of weighing his goods too short. He always weighed /57/ the things himself on his old scales with the wooden scale-beam and the balance-scales made of goat's leather. And when he weighed something before you, always two batti (equivalent of four pounds) at a time, it all looked quite correct; but if one later weighed it again at home, it was never right. But for the sake of his nephew the uncle was willing to take this into the bargain for this one time; including the haughty nature that Norbu liked to display. For--in a completely casual manner--Stobsldan was to ask Norbu whether a proposal on the part of Drogpa Namgyal for the hand of Chosskyid would have any prospect of success. [804]

In the evening, as it was getting dark, he came back, with his head and his limbs again heavy from beer and talking. With difficulty and awkwardly he dismounted from his horse, and laboriously he climbed up the bad stone steps to his brother's house. He was received with questioning looks and words, and with comical weightiness and forced sureness he steered towards his seat at the stove in the chansa (living room-kitchen). Again the relatives and the tribe are all gathered together. After Stobsldan has emptied a few bowls of butter tea which the housewife has poured out for him, and after he has smoked a few draughts on the water pipe of the master of the house, he began his report. The parents of Chosskyid, he said, had at first been very cool and had behaved as though they were galons and he a begging beda. Nothing could come of the marriage; there had been so many who had asked this girl in marriage; if she wanted to she could hang a suitor from each of her fingers. And there were among these men of a quite superior rank to the Dragshos, against whom the father did not want to say anything otherwise, since after all he was a good friend of his father's. But this marriage could not possibly be brought about. While the girl's father had been talking, the men present in that house had made extensive fun of Stobsldan. But the latter had not given in; he

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34. Chirpon is a corruption of ĉibs-dpon, in English "horse master" (stable master). It is one of the titles which stem from the time of the kings when the bearers of the title were court officials. The titles have been preserved in the names of the houses. [552]

● 584 painted his nephew in glowing colors as the model of a young Tibetan farmer; he nettled the people from the Chirpon house by saying that the Dragshos had also once been highly respected officials of the kings and war heroes, that they were well-to-do if not rich, and that the fine property with the two summer places (35) in Nyermo and Skambur was free from encumbrance.

For a long time the arguments and counterarguments had gone back and forth, and time and again the old, sly Chirpon (Norbu Wangchug) boasted about the /58/ "brilliant matches" with the galons and nonos (titles of young noblemen) that his daughter could enter into. In answer to this Stobsldan repeated equally stubbornly the praises of the Dragshos people. As a final trump he characterized the "brilliant matches" with which he was perfectly acquainted. He said that the "aristocratic fathers" concerned, who desired Chosskyid as a bride for their sons, were both deeply in debt, one to the monastery Hemis, the other to the neighboring monastery Lamayuru, and moreover, the son of the galon was an extravagant, licentious person who through his wastefulness had brought his own father into misfortune and debts; also, the galon's son had already been a few days in jail in Leh once because of an evil prank. The other suitor, he continued, was a harmless but stupid person whose suit had already been refused by more than one girl, that is to say, by her father. At this Norbu Wangchug became more and more quiet, and when finally the conversation had come to an end and everything was properly splashed with beer, then, as the matchmaker was mounting on his horse, the housewife Deskyid had whispered to him: "Well, Acho! (older brother)! Try it some time soon with the "asking beer" (dri-ĉan)! After all, it is still possible to talk about the matter." When the initially shocked and disappointed parents and p'as-pun heard this, their faces lighted up again and that very same evening it was decided to send the asking beer soon to Tingmogang.

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The Asking Beer (36)

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[423] 35. "Summer place" (dbyar-sa) is the designation for the part of a farmer's landholding which lies apart from the rest of his fields in a highland plateau. Usually it has a house belonging to it from which one or two persons work and water the fields through the summer.

36 Tibetan dri-ĉan, meaning "asking beer," also slon-ĉan,

meaning "request beer." To the "beers" described in this 431 section we have parallels in the "beers" customary in several parts of Germany, such as "Kindelbier" (used at baptisms) /literally "child's beer" but translated into English as "christening feast."/, harvest beer, bock beer, honor beer, consolation beer (at funerals), and others of the same kind.

A few days after Stobsldan's mission two men with baskets on 584● their backs were sent to Tingmogang. In each of the baskets there 431 was a large, bulging clay vessel (dza-ma) which contained the important "asking beer." The wide, projecting upper rim of the vessel was covered with a wreath of small lumps of butter (37). A little way behind the two carriers there followed the two uncles of the suitor, Stobsldan and Tsang Sodnam, on horseback. Once arrived at Tingmogang they dismounted from their horses in front of the Chirpon farm and lifted the heavy jugs of beer out of the baskets. Norbu Wangchug came out to meet them at /59/ the gate of the courtyard. He had a harmless, apparently unsuspecting and still somewhat patronizing air and he greeted them with, "Good day, you gentlemen! [576] Are you in good health?" whereupon the latter answered: "Healthy, yes, thank you! And does the honored gentleman also feel well?" After the customary welcoming formalities had been exchanged with all ceremoniousness, Norbu Wangchug invited the two emissaries into his house. The large Tibetan mastiff which was furiously barking and tearing at its chain by the house door, was pushed down by the master of the house who sat down on the animal until his guests had entered. They went up the stairs into the living room-kitchen where the two uncles put down the chang kegs by the cooking stove on the wreaths of straw--the jugs have billowing bottoms--which had been placed in readiness there. Now the emissaries were invited to sit down near the stove on the felt carpets that had been spread along the wall. As by accident a number of men related to the family and of the tribe of the master of the house arrived, and soon a considerable company of men was sitting together to steaming butter tea; and the cozy gurgling of the circulating water pipe intermingled with the conversation of the

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37. The little lumps of butter (dkar-abyor). The Tibetan word can be translated by "rich possession." The wreath of little lumps of butter is symbolic of "fatness, wealth."

584 [431] men who apparently suspected nothing and talked about all sorts of things, of horse trading, the shearing of sheep, new tax burdens and the impending visit of a great holy lama; in fact, they talked of everything except about marriage and matchmaking. Finally beer was served. After both Kalatse men had hastily swallowed a few bowls of the beer and had sat in silence for a while, Stobsldan cleared his throat extensively and audibly, began to speak and presented the object of his visit. They brought, he said, 100,000 humble greetings from the Dragshos Lobsang Wanggyal in Kalatse to the gaga (honored gentleman) and the jojo (gracious lady) of the Chirpon house. They had come to look for a bride for the young man in the Dragshos house. Drogpa Namgyal, he stated, was an industrious, honest, energetic and pious boy, all the people of Kalatse could testify to that. And if one looked at the property of the Dragshos one would see that the boy was not a bad match. After all, they all knew the fine property which was free of any encumbrance. Surely it was superfluous to say anything about the virtue, industry and the beauty of the nomo (38) Chosskyid.

[576] 38. nomo, meaning "younger sister," is the way every younger female person is addressed by an older person. Even her own parents may address a girl as such.

She did not have her equal in the whole of Ladakh. The Dragshos asked the Chirpon for the girl as a bride for his son.

/60/ The matchmaker's speech was followed by a long silence which was only interrupted by the gurgling of the circulating water pipe which had just reached the master of the house. The latter took a few long draughts from it, put it down, gave the pipe to the person sitting next to him, raised his eyebrows and said: "Nonopale (noble gentlemen)! It is certainly a great honor for me that you have come in order to request my daughter in marriage on behalf of your nephew, the son of my honored friend; and the speech of your mouth is as sweet as sugar and as lovely as the twittering birds. Now you are praising my daughter as 'from one throat.' But how long will this last; after that you will speak nothing but evil words about the girl, then you will say: 'Your daughter has horns in the front of her head and a tail in her back' (that is to say, she is a cow), she is lazy and slovenly, knows nothing about housekeeping or managing the fields. And--moreover--there are so many who would like to have the girl, and there are some very distinguished suitors among them"--at these words Stobsldan nudged

Tsang Sodnam and both laughed secretly. "No, gentlemen, this marriage cannot take place. You will have to look for another bride for Namgyal; after all, there are enough girls in Lower Ladakh. Chosskyid is designated for another man." With these words Norbu Wangchug turned to the men of his tribe who answered with a dead-serious "drig yin (so it is)."

"Yes," Tsang Sodnam now objected, "it is admittedly true that it will be pure graciousness on your part if you give your daughter as a bride to the boy. But you must not say that he and his parents are such bad people. You may inquire in all of Lower Ladakh, and you will only hear them praised as "from one throat." The Dragshos are pious (39) and respectable people. And just think of the wonderful property they have in fields and cattle. All of you know quite well about that!"

At these words Stobsldan placed a beautiful coral necklace with [431] silver decorations on the little tea table in front of old Norbu which the latter pretended not to notice at all. All the more did the eyes of the tribe of the Chirpon, especially those of the women present, secretly examine and evaluate the necklace. Argument and counter-argument went back and forth. The beer flowed plentifully into the throats just as the words flowed forth from them in abundance; at first all talking, suing and praising seemed to fail through the stubborn resistance of Norbu Wangchug /61/ who time and time again brought forth the argument of the "brilliant matches" which his Chosskyid could make. But towards the end of the damp-hot session, after the woman Deskyid, the wife of Norbu Wangchug, had whispered all sorts of things to her husband and after the p'as-pun had brought the old man somewhat to his senses in muted conversations by admonishing him finally to desist from boasting about the brilliant prospects of his daughter and telling him that nobody, after all, cared for those "distinguished suitors" of whom he was constantly speaking, and that the Dragshos son was a son-in-law who was not to be despised; after all this, finally, the father mumbled something between his lips made heavy by beer, which sounded like "talk about it once more." And when the two matchmakers finally arose with great difficulty as darkness was descending, their heads and limbs were heavy from beer and talk; but their hearts were light. Mother Deskyid had taken the necklace

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39. Tibetan: dkon-mĉog la ajigs-mk'an.

584 destined for her daughter for herself and Norbu Wangchug had helped the two matchmakers get on their horses in a friendly manner, something which had not been quite superfluous. Then he had given Stobsldan's brown horse a blow on the rear shank with the flat of his hand so that the horse leaped forth and almost threw its rider into the brook which flowed along the side of the village path. And he had said, "Well, just bring the 'ransom' beer (hol-ĉan) soon."

It was a good thing that the horses of the Kalatse men knew the narrow, bad path so well, which leads from the valley steeply up to the highland plateau, and that they were able to find it with sureness even in the dark; it was further lucky that they did not stumble over the innumerable stones along the way or that they did not become frightened by the boulders that were loosened through their steps and which went thundering down the steep rocky slope. For the two riders completely entrusted themselves to the sharp senses and the sure footedness of their small, sturdy mountain horses. Not till the howling of a wolf sounded forth from up above along the edge of the plateau, which was soon answered by the howling of another wolf on the other side of the valley, and the horses became restless, did the men grasp the reins more firmly. Finally they had reached the plateau. On top there was blowing a strong gust from the west which cooled off and sobered the two heated heads. As they sobered up, however, the two otherwise quite courageous men were also overcome by fear. On the level plateau there lived /62/ a dreadful Tsan-demon
776 who occasionally appeared to wanderers. The men remembered the story which Konchog Trashi had recently told them. A company of men from the neighboring Teya once returned home to their village late in the evening after they had been drinking in Kalatse. On the plain the drunken men made a lot of noise and sang lewd songs and also reviled the lamas and the gods. Then suddenly a storm rushed along the plain, a cloud swept down from the mountains, and in the cloud Pagspa from the Shanku house (śan-ku, meaning "wolf") saw, as he recounted later, quite clearly the Tsan king with helmet and armor on his red horse, as he drew the bow and shot off an arrow. In the same instant Buchung screamed aloud, clasped his chest and slid off his horse. The Teya people brought him back to his home as a corpse. No wound was visible on him. He had been the loudest and the wildest reveller. Tsepell, too, is supposed to have been coughing blood since
000 that evening, which no lharje (Tibetan doctor) can cure. The men from Kalatse drove their horses on, which carried their riders in a

Jupiter with his thunderbolt. Friday was considered a day of evil portent. 777

either unlucky or at least less propitious for the purpose." The devil tamer who was in a very good mood today, gave Lobsang Wanggyal many another piece of "good advice" of the same tenor, until the latter's head was buzzing and he no longer knew whether the horoscope was actually good or bad. The fee was moderate this time for a marriage horoscope--five rupees. But at parting the onpo called after Lobsang Wanggyal: "Be so kind as to send a sack of barley soon; I have hardly a handful of roasted barley flour for kollag and I will have to suffer hunger if I don't get something soon; this is my last kollag," and in so saying the onpo pointed at a lump of the size of about two fists. "Oh, oh (yes, yes)," answered the Dragshos rather annoyed while he walked out--he knew the "distress" of the devil-tamer only too well--and to himself he mumbled: "I shall take my time over sending him the barley." The onpo had mumbled something about "paying"; the Dragshos knew that kind of paying too. 787

The Ransom Beer (42)

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42. Tibetan holtshang (hol-ĉan). The word indicates the fact that through complicated negotations and by purchase, the bride must be "ransomed" from the control of her parents and of her tribe.

A month later a small caravan of Kalatse people walked and rode across the plateau to Tingmogang. In the early morning seven men and women had already carried seven clay jugs /following p. 64 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Lama with a magical bell and a magical dagger"; the second showing a man "at the weaver's loom."/ /65/ in carrying baskets, filled with beer, each jug containing from eight to ten liters. A little later followed Lobsang Wanggyal with his brother Stobsldan, his brother-in-law Tsang Sodnam with other men of his relation and p'as-pun, all riding on horseback. They all went immediately to the house of Norbu Wangchug. After they had arrived in the living room-kitchen, Stobsldan placed a greeting cloth (k'a-btags) (43) on the little table in front of the owner 584 [431]

43. k'a-btags (pronounced k'atag.), greeting cloth or greeting 000

[cf. cat. 116, p. 60 : footnote 43 -- Analyst]

584 of the house, and a second one on the edge of the stove for the lady of the house. Then the men sat down in silence on the felt carpets spread out along two walls of the room. They were seated in a long row, Lobsang Wanggyal next to the Chirpon (the master of the house), then the others ranged according to age, rank and titles, with the most distinguished nearest the stove. First the guests were treated to butter tea and flat bread cakes (ta-gir). Then they went over to the chang. The beer kegs from the Dragshos house were carried in, the women scooped the beer with ladles into the bowls of the men, and now they set about negotiating, at this ransom beer, the conclusion of the marriage contract.

583 584 After a number of less important points had been discussed, they arrived at the most important one--the purchase price of the bride.

A long pause interrupted the lively conversation; the men looked silently down at their beer mugs; the women, who were busily going up and down serving the beer, so that no bowl would become empty, stopped and looked with tense expressions at the men from Kalatse who were to speak the first word. Finally Stobsldan broke the silence: "Now, gracious sir, Norbu Wangchug, please, speak a word! How high is the price of the mother milk (44) to be? Tell us your wishes! It is, after all, pure graciousness on your part that you give your daughter to the Dragshos; if you burden us with wool (an easy burden), that will be graciousness; if you burden us with salt (a heavy burden) that will still be graciousness; ours is only to ask."

After prolonged silence during which he seemed to draw his thoughts out of the water pipe standing in front of him, Norbu Wangchug answered as all eyes were now turned upon him: "Rab, abrin, mt'a gsum. A lot, an average amount, and a little bit--there are three kinds of measures. What shall I say? It must be so that the wolf /66/

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576 43. k'a-btags (pronounced k'atag), greeting cloth or greeting ribbon, usually a worthless strip of gauze-like material that is presented like a greeting card as a sign of respect and of the good wishes of the donor; if the lama has consecrated it, the k'atag is supposed to have magical powers.

44. Tibetan a-mai o-mai rin, meaning "price of the mother's milk." The bride's mother must be paid for the raising and feeding of the bride.

does not starve and that the little lamb does not die of hunger either. 583 You gentlemen! Bring the rope over here please!" 584

Norpel and Ishe Lhundrub, the two uncles of the girl, then got up and put up a rope right across the entire living room fastening its ends to the main beams of the ceiling. Then they went with mother Deskyid into an adjoining provision room and soon came back laden with clothes, women's ornaments and all kinds of household utensils. The clothes were partly made of Tibetan cloth colored wine red, and [291] partly of blue, green, brown or black European cloth, satin or muslin; there also shone forth the sleeveless fur covering decorated with red and green cloth, colored sashes each from two to three meters long, the shirts with the very long sleeves, trousers whose legs resembled pipes of about one and one-half meter's length, and--the prize possession and the pride of the bride--the perag, the head ornament with many [301] turquoises and many little silver and guilded amulet containers and capsules covered with colored semi-precious stones. All these things were hung up on the rope and especially the perag was hung in such a way that everyone could see and admire it. The rest of the rich ornaments, the necklace of corals and silver decoration, the earrings, the shoulder pendants and the like, the mother displayed on two little tables placed in readiness for the purpose. Next to this were placed in [291] an orderly row the shoes, delicate Indian pointed shoes, next to more clumsy Tibetan shoes made of colored cloth. Furthermore they put [415] down there the handleless copper cooking pots which are tin-plated on the inside, the copper dishes and plates, the wooden cylinder with the mallet in it for the mixing of butter tea, and the tea strainer woven out of hard, wire-like grass (45), as well as all the other household

45. The botanical name of the grass is Kobresia tibetica. [137]

and kitchen utensils. That is the bride's ragt'ag (46), the bride's rope

46. Along with the form rag-t'ag there also exists the form ras-t'ag which is apparently connected with "ras," meaning "linen cloth," "garment." Often the bride's rope is simply called "t'ag-pa" (meaning "rope") for short.

or the trousseau rope which is here put on display in order to be able to measure the purchasing price of the bride, the "price of the mother milk," in accordance with it. The two uncles of the bride very

583 circumstantially set up a list of the things, counting on their fingers and 584 setting down the prices of the individual items. In doing so they were careful not to set the prices too low for the old Chirpon had impressed this point on them. He would like to shine with his ragt'ag and he would like to outtrump all bride's fathers in the whole of Lower Ladakh, /67/ who have married off daughters in the past few years. At the mention of many a price the people from Kalatse would nudge each other and laugh secretly. Finally the list was completely drawn up and the sum was calculated. Ishe Lhundrub placed the list on the little table of the master of the house. The latter's glance went over the lines and numbers with pleasure and then his glance moved over to the ragt'ag and the entire bride's trousseau, and finally it went over the faces of the Kalatse people, examining them one by one. Now it was their turn to calculate and to bid if they could. "There, listen, you gentlemen from Kalatse," the Chirpon now spoke forth. The "price list" (rinto) comes to 220 žo. (47) According to old Ladakh custom the 'price of the mother milk' should amount to an ample fourth of the rinto. Give 60 žo, then the young gentleman Drogpa Namgyal may have the girl. You can see what kind of a bride's rope she is taking with her. Such a one there hasn't been since the days of our forefathers in Lower Ladakh." /The last quotation mark is conjectural since there is none in the original text--translator./

The Kalatse people bowed their heads That was a lot.. Typical of the Chirpon! This is the way they had known him. Always driving a bargain! This is the way he had acted also as village magistrate of Tingmogang. In all circumstances he knew how to feather his nest: when he collected the taxes, when he settled a dispute and otherwise whenever an opportunity presented itself; and now in haggling over the sale of his daughter. He would have been the last one to give his daughter away to one of those indebted "noble galon's sons" just to pay his debts off. But they knew how to take him. There now started a haggling and a bargaining which increased in violence in proportion

[436] 47. 1 žo is equivalent to 6 rupees in old Tibetan currency, the rupee is equivalent to four jau (1 jau equals 3.25 anna, which in turn is equal to 28 Pfennige). The old Tibetan rupee had only four-fifths of the value of an Indian rupee. Thus 220 žo equal 1,320 Tibetan rupies, the equivalent of 1,056 Indian rupees, amounting to 1,408 mark.

to the decreasing of the number of filled chang kegs. Their brown 583
faces assumed a shining copper color, the voices became increasingly 584
loud and more excited while the bride's father stuck to his demands with the stubbornness and obstinacy with which they were all familiar. Finally Stobsldan asked him, "Is this your final word, gaga?" Yes, my last, by the 'three jewels' (48)!" "This is too much," shouts Stobsldan, whose customary politeness had been smothered by alcohol, at the people from Tingmogang, "the old money-grabber wants to make a profit. The whole rope is not worth 120 žo. The gaga is trying the make a fool of us! Come, Lobsang Wanggyal, we shall go home! Your son /68/ can get ten brides if he wants them; there are many other pretty, decent and wealthy girls in Sham (Lower Ladahk). Give us back the coral necklace, Chirpon, and tomorrow we shall send you back the large copper pot (zan-bu) that you sent over to us. Then you may wait until a rGyallu (royal prince) courts

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48. In Tibetan the oath goes: "dKon-mĉog gsum" (pronounced "konchog sum!"), the "Three Jewels"; they are the components of the Buddhistic trinity: Buddha, the Law, and the Monkhood. The Buddhistic Tibetan has constant oaths on his lips with which he believes it necessary to reinforce even quite unimportant statements and assertions, a proof of how much and how readily the great majority of them lie. Other oaths are: "May the monastery get me (dgon-pas nam śig)!" by which the gods are meant, whose pictures are in the monastery; they are asked to "come and get" the person uttering the oath. The subordinate clause, "If my statement is not true," remains unexpressed. The form "sku t'san-mas nam śig, may all the gods get me!" also occurs. Another form which is to be heard daily, is "a-mai śa, or bu-t'sai sa," which means "the mother's flesh, the son's flesh," which is also used with he naming of a particular name, "T'serin-gi śa, Rol-mai śa, Tsering's flesh, Rolma's flesh." Tibetans explained to me that this meant: "If I have lied I shall eat the flesh of my mother, of my son, the flesh of Tsering, the flesh of Rolma," an oath which is supposed to derive from the time when cannibalism prevailed in Tibet. In court there often appear false witnesses who, bribed with a few annas, swear to everything that is demanded of them. [195]

583 584 your daughter. Come, everyone, you Acho-No (older and younger brothers)! We are all going home! The people here are like hungry wolves!"

Everybody looked at Norbu Wangchug who was sitting there with a sullen smile. Then fat Norpel, the brother of the lord of the house, got up clumsily, seized Lobsang Wanggyal who was just preparing to get up, by his sleeve, and said: "Please, please, my little brother! You should not get angry immediately. After all, one should be able to talk about business matters." And then turning to his brother he said: "Just be gracious, Acho (older brother)! Look at the grieved face of Lobsang Wanggyal! Think of the fine, elegant house and of the respectable, pious people to whom Chosskyid would come as a bride! If I had a daughter I would give her immediately to the Nono Drogpa Namgyal. What a fine boy that is. He has the gait and the posture of a prince. And he can ride and play polo, nobody equals him in that. At the same time he is an efficient farmer and takes religion seriously like all Dragshos. Do say another good word to the gentlemen from Kalatse!"

A long silence ensued. As though by accident, the water pipe had again come around to the old Chirpon, who drew forth from it thick clouds of smoke. Finally the gurgling of the pipe ceased and the old man, still very angered, exclaimed: "You gentlemen are surely sensible persons and not like a yak bull which has a red cloth put in front of it. After all, I am not a wolf who strangles sheep and goats out of greed, nor am I a fox who steals his neighbors' chickens. Ask the gentlemen of my tribe here, the p'as-pun and the neighbors in the entire valley whether I have wrongfully appropriated so much as a needle"--and in so saying he took one of the many large sewing needles which were stuck in a row in his hat, in his hand and held it up high. In the back two small farmers from Teya nudged each other significantly. They knew /69/ better. "Now look at this tagpa (rope)!" the Chirpon went on, "have you ever seen one like it? But so you can see that I am a reasonable, God-fearing man, I shall deduct five žo from the 'price of the mother's milk.' Give me 55 žo and you can have the girl!"

Lobsang Wanggyal nudged his brother: "My little brother, now you talk!" They quietly exchanged a few words and then Stobsldan spoke up: "55 žo is too much; far too much. Just consider, when Chosskyid comes into the Dragshos house, that house will be your house. If you ruin the house by your unreasonable demands you also

bring misfortune upon your daughter. So that you may see that we are 583
honorable and reasonable people, we offer you 50 žo from the whole 584
Dragshos tribe together, and not a paisa (49) more. We do not have

49. 1 paisa is the 64th part of a rupee in Indian currency. [436]

half of that in cash, but we p'as-pun will all put our resources together and whatever amount we are still short then, we shall borrow. And at the drabchang and the nyenchang (the 'beers' yet to follow) we shall discuss the matter again." Norpel called cheerfully over to Stobsldan: "Drig, drig (good, good)! Come, have another drink! You bomo (girls) pour us some more!" The further conversation was drowned out in the general babel of voices and the clinking of the metal beer mugs.

Suddenly everything became quiet. Two young women stepped 533
into the room, bowed deeply in front of the master of the house and the other men and at the same time alternately touched their foreheads with the tips of their fingers of both hands and beat together the bracelets on their wrists, made of snail-shells, which produced a clear sound. In so doing they called out: "Please permit us to sing you a song!" And now the two sang the Song of the beautiful Tseringskyid (50).

50. From the collection of Tibetan folksongs, Ladakhi Songs, edited in cooperation with Rev. S.H. Ribbach and Dr. E. Shawe by Dr. A.H Francke. The songs of this collection have been translated by Professor Francke into English and in part also into German. The translation from Tibetan into the German of the song cited is done by the author of the present work.

First Girl Oh, did you not see my companion? 533
Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid? 534
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There just passed by a maiden fair,
Her body was as of pure gold.
/70/ First Girl Oh, did you not see my companion?
Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl Your companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
There passed by a girl with hair so rich,

exorcisms of demons, is in the shape of half a dorje (thunderbolt) which, cast in ore, belongs to the equipment of the lama magicians. 533 539

First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl You companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
I saw pass by a beautiful maiden,
She was spinning a thread of pure silk.

/72/Now the song ceased. Even the circle of arguing and haggling parties had become quiet. The old familiar sounds of the alternate song with the merry play of the two girls had not missed their effect. The heated disputes that had just gone on again became peaceful chatting and soon everything was pure bliss and friendship. It was late in the afternoon. The sun had long gone down behind the mountains that fringed the valley when the people from Kalatse finally mounted their horses and rode homeward. 000

The Contract and the Relatives' Beer (55) ([illegible])

55. Tibetan t'ig-čan and nyen-čan.

584•

After about fourteen days the relatives and the p'as-pun of both houses again gathered together, this time in Lobsang Wanggyal's house in Kalatse, for the contract beer which at the same time was to be the "relatives' beer," that is to say, the engagement celebration. Again butter tea and flat bread cakes were served, and then they went over to the chang--during these months beer was constantly being brewed in large clay jugs in both houses; they ate, they drank and they sang, now the men, now the women and the girls, and when the men were again in the mood for it, the bargaining and the haggling over the "price of the mother milk" started anew. After long bickering and quarreling back and forth and threats of breaking off the negotiations, they agreed upon 50 žo for the time being, yet the Kalatse people were still hoping to knock something off that sum at the "beers" that were yet to follow.

Now the moment had come to decide upon the guests that should be invited to the wedding. Each side endeavored to invite as 585 431

583 goes around from one to the other, so that today it is your turn and tomorrow mine, so does joy and sorrow alternate: today I am afflicted with sorrow and you are in joy, tomorrow it is the other way round. Today the Dragshos needs our help and we want to give it to him; next year he will perhaps have to help one of us who may be in distress. Thus we want to help our friend the Dragshos in bearing the heavy burden of the bride purchase and the expenses of the wedding." In so saying the lonpo carefully opened the metal pen case which he carried around stuck inside his sash, dipped the reed pen into a copper inkwell which hung on a little belt at his side, and wrote his contribution down on the slip of paper--30 rupees. Then followed the gopa (village magistrate) of Domkhar with 15 rupees, and the others with contributions /74/ of from five to seven rupees each. Everyone signed with his house name and with the name by which he was called; those who were unable to write put down their seal with the iron signet that they brushed with ink, or else they placed the impression of their blackened thumb next to the figure which someone able to write put down.

When this transaction had been finished Lobsang Wanggyal heaved a sigh of relief. His clan had not left him in the lurch. They had taken away from him a good part of the burden which he had had to shoulder. He could count himself lucky. Things rarely went as smoothly and without friction as they had in this case. It had often happened that at the consultation beer endless haggling and bargaining, quarrels and disputes within the clan and the circle of relatives had taken place.

584 A week later the families from both houses concerned already gathered for the final "beer" (59), the "Ordering beer" (bcol-ĉan).

59. If the wedding is postponed because the families cannot come to an agreement over the "price of the mother milk," the choice of guests, the distribution of the expenses, and other things of the kind, as this is often the case, then the "beers" named are followed by several others with always new names.

Aside from those already named, five young men, the Nyaopas (60),

60. Nyaopa (gnya-bo-pa) means witness. The Nyaopas are in a certain sense the marriage witnesses and at the wedding they also have the duties of best men. The often-used form

> "Nyopa" is a corruption which has led to the translation "buyer," which in my opinion is incorrect. My informant Gau Puntsog always stuck to the form "Nyaopa."

the best men, were invited on this occasion. Under the leadership of the sNatridpa (sna-ak'rid-pa) these have the task at the main wedding of taking the bride from her father's house into that of the bridegroom. At the "ordering beer" they were entrusted with this duty, just as the five bridesmaids (bag-grogs) were entrusted with theirs. Furthermore, many another person was engaged to perform the many services necessary at the wedding celebration, not last nor least of these the cook and the water carrier. Again they consumed ample amounts of beer; once more the bridegroom's two uncles tried to bargain about the "price of the mother milk" in the interests of the Dragshos, and once more there began a haggling and quarreling until the old Chirpon started up angrily and said: "Da drig (now it's enough)! Now I'm sick of this haggling! If you don't want to give the 50 žo then you can get yourselves one of those dirty smith's daughters (gar-bai bo-mo) as a bride for Drogpa Namgyal!" This had its effect. The haggling, which the Dragshos disliked anyway, ceased; but something like that he would not take from the Chirpon people and so he decided the dispute by saying: "Now, just be satisfied, Acho (older brother)! You will get your 50 žo, by the Three Jewels! Surely you know that a Dragshos does not do things in a shabby manner." At the end there was yet another incident. After /75/ all offices and services had been distributed a lama who was present asked in what year the sNatridpa, the chief best man, was born. "I am a Paglopa, of the pig year," the latter answered himself. "Then everything is in order," the lama replied, "a pig year person brings luck into the house; it would have been bad if you had been of the dragon year, that would have brought misfortune. So it is a lucky coincidence that the chief best man is a pig year person.

/76/

The Wedding (61) ( )

> 61. Tibetan bag-ston, in polite speech sku-bag.

Now it was the eve of the great day of the wedding, the 21st of the first month, a Thursday (Donar's day, Jupiter's day), as it had been designated by the onpo (soothsayer). The guests had rushed to the spot from the surrounding mountain villages, some even from the

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

792
428 valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the
593 objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or
two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of
[597] course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can
found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son
to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his
younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as
it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a
separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as
[848] pay the revenue. Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family,
who has been living on the estate as a *yáng champa*, will claim as a
kinsmen and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute
right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to
maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the
head of the family for the time being; he must either let them
live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give
them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they
go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will
entitle their father or his successor to cast them off, or resume the house
595 and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live
and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their
587 chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and
the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *kothí*), and bigamy
is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son
or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case
the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery
to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law,
the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest
in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it:
on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children
by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person
of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman
available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it
would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A
marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

184 The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás[1] will
114 be found in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*; but in the country now
776 under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present
day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists
in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages
from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and
women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat
the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events
● [584] consists mainly of feasts in which much *cháng* is drunk. In Láhaul
the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance
or refusal of a pot of *cháng* sent to the father of the bride: if he
595 drinks, the affair is settled without more words. In Láhaul, polyandry,
184 or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognized
institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent
the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came
before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much
wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

[1] [i.e., Tibetans. See Source #1: Cunningham, West Tibetans File. -- Analyst]

[P. 49]

NOTES ON CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS IN SPITI.[1] BY H. CALVERT, I.C.S.

(*Communicated by H. A. Rose.*)

SPITI is a portion of the Kullû Subdivision of the Kângṛâ District of the Panjab on the Tibetan border. The following notes were made by Mr. Calvert during a tour in 1904. 131

I.

Customs connected with the Social Relations.

Betrothal.

Betrothal is usually preceded by verbal inquiries through a relative or friend as to whether the father of the girl is agreeable, who usually takes with him a needle as an emblem of the well-being of the family making the enquiry.[2] 584 [556]

If the girl's father intimates his acceptance of the proposal, the boy's father takes some *chang* (barley brew) and *khâta* (cloth) to him. If the girl's father drinks the *chang*, the betrothal is complete.

A *lâma* is then consulted as to an auspicious day for the wedding, which may be six months or a year later. The boy's father has already referred to the *lâma* to ascertain if the marriage is likely to be fortunate before he made proposals for the betrothal. 787 793

If, after betrothal and before marriage, the girl prefers another man, or is married by her parents to another man, the first *fiancé* is given a pony or a sum of money as compensation. 584

If a young boy be left an orphan, his relatives select a grown-up woman as his wife, to look after him and his property as foster-mother as well as wife. The boy cannot on attaining his majority marry a second wife.

Marriage.

Marriage within the *got* is prohibited, but interchange of sisters is allowed and cousins may marry. 582 [614]

A man may marry a woman of an inferior *got*, but a woman must, if possible, marry a man of superior *got*.

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[1] In Tibetan, sPiti.

[2] A needle, sent by one relative or friend to another by people who cannot write is a sign of the well-being of the sender.

553 793 [565] The wealthy take their children to the monastery to be named and pay a heavy fee, but the poor bring the *láma* to their homes, feed him and give him a small present of cash or grain.

The child to be named must be over a year old and may be as much as three years old.

[766] [787] If a child die without being named, it is buried. If it dies after the naming ceremony, the Sacred Books are consulted as to the disposal of the body.

The naming ceremony is not considered to have any effect on the child's future.

Adoption.

a.—Where there is no son.

597 584 If a land-owner have no son, but only a daughter, she is ordinarily married to a man ranking as an adopted son. This man must be a younger son and so able to leave his father's house. He is not in any way looked down on.

However, if the land-owner have a younger brother who would ordinarily be a *láma* he can object, because a son-in-law can only be taken into the house as heir with his consent, and he can claim to cohabit with the land-owner's wife and beget a son. Or, if the wife be old, he can marry another woman and try and get a son by her. If he does, the elder sonless brother is turned into the *khang chung*, and the *láma* takes possession of the *khang chhen*.

b.—Where there is no child.

If there is no child and no younger brother, or if the younger brother does not object, the land-owner adopts a married man of his own *got*, or he adopts a girl and finds a husband for her who is made his heir. If in this case, the younger brother objects he can be bought off with a field or a pony or money or some similar present.

c.—The adopted son.

597 428 [792] Once a man is adopted as a son, he cannot be set aside, but there can be no adoption if a real son exists. If, after adopting a son, a real son is born, the latter becomes a younger son, and has to become a *láma* or is given a field for maintenance, while the adopted son gets the main portion of the land. The real son cannot object.

At the end of two years the lad's head is shaved, all except 852
a piece of hair, which is the rudiment of his pigtail, and
which is now carefully preserved, dressed and well-greased
with butter; this being an occasion, it is celebrated
gastronomically and no doubt alcoholically.

We now come to the nuptial ceremonies, but it is quite 584
unnecessary to wait for them till years of discretion have 591
arrived, nor does Cupid have much to do with the wounding
of Ladaki hearts, although even here there are occasions when
the flight of his arrow is mortal. The women of Ladak enjoy
a perennial leap-year, for in this country it is as becoming
for a woman to be the aggressor in matters of marriage as
it is for a man, and perhaps, in this respect, we are "the wrong
way round" after all. When the lady is the active party, the
husband brought to her house is called a *magpa*, but if she
is taken as a bride to his house, she is called a *gnama*. The [421]
property belongs to the active partner, irrespective of sex.

Three methods of getting married are sanctioned by 583
custom. The first has of necessity fallen into disuse since the
Ladakis were conquered by the Dogras. It was the prerogative
of any rajah or ruler, who wished to reward a man for services
rendered, to grant him the power of choosing any girl he
liked in the country as his bride. Thus a man of low degree
could aspire to the hand of a great lady.

The second method is frankly to steal the chosen partner.
The selection having been made, only relatives are admitted
into the secret. No big wedding-feast is prepared, just a small 586
one is made where the native beer or *chang* alone is unlimited.
Grand wedding-garments are not permissible, and the actual
ceremony is very simple, consisting merely in the bride and
bridegroom each donning a very small white head-dress,
called the *mgo ras*, while there are no religious rites. The
gnama or *magpa*, as the case may be, has to say "*zhu-le*" to
everybody, friend or no friend, hence the proverb: "The
bridegroom or bride must say '*zhu*' even to the cat or dog."

586 The next day a deputation must go to the house from which the passive partner was stolen to say "*zhu.*" They are accompanied by a rhetorician, and take with them some jars of beer, some bread, tea, butter and a salutation-scarf. If the parents are amenable to the transaction they accept the presents, and receive the deputation; but if they object to the alliance, the welcome of these representatives is all too warm—they are ejected with kicks and blows, while the parents and their supporters go to the temporary home of their child, try to wreck it, and recover the stolen one by force. Hence another proverb says: "The parents are their children's 583 judges." The causes which precipitate such a stolen marriage are (1) absolute inability to afford the orthodox nuptials; (2) temporary financial disability, as at any future time the arrangement may be ratified with full ceremonials; and (3) if the desired partner is betrothed to someone else, to secure him or her by theft; (4) if the *Onpo's* date does not satisfy the couple, they marry on their own day, and have the official rites on his.

585 Lastly there is the orthodox wedding with all its attendant 791 ceremonies. For this neither parents nor child must decide on their choice before they have consulted the *Onpo*. To this gentleman they tell the name and date of birth of the prospective mate, and can only proceed if he declares, after searching his books, that year and person are auspicious. Lamas, as a 585 rule, do not provide this information. The marriage may take place when the children are very young, but it is not consummated till after they are twelve, and, even at this tender age, little Ladaki girls sometimes become mothers. • 584 Thus the Ladaki parents have to think about the future alliance when the child is still young; as their proverb says: "The difficulty of the father is to get a wife for his son."

Let us follow this father in his difficult path, supposing the child for whom he wishes to find a mate is a son. The first overtures are made by a third party, who must never go

584 [791] to the house of the bride-elect empty-handed, and the fateful day on which he sets out must be decided by the *Onpo*. If the young lady's parents receive him favourably, more beer must be sent on several occasions, and a series of preliminary feasts, whose principal feature is beer drinking, is inaugurated. The first of these, called *holchan*, is only a small affair, but marks a definite betrothal. Subsequently more *chang* must be taken for the consumption of the relatives of the future bride, and at this feast or *nyenchang* (relation beer), it is decided what presents in kind and in cash these people must be given. The money present is said to be in payment of Nature's provision through the mother for the bride's first earthly nourishment! It may vary from Rs15 to Rs45, while the other presents include twenty-five to forty-five measures of *chang* (600–1,000 quarts), also tea, butter, *p'adings* (the local dried apricots), meat, rice, and salutation scarves.

The next feast is called the *trabschang* (conference beer), and its occasion is the assembly of all the relatives and friends some weeks before the wedding to decide upon and to distribute the responsibility of giving the various articles needed for the actual wedding-feast, such as the provision by the uncle of the bride of the *drangrgyas*, or cake, round which the dances will take place, and all the details of serving the courses
585 are arranged. The menu includes the following courses: (1) Tea; (2) a mixture of wholemeal flour, butter and dried curds, sugar, and tea; (3) *p'adings* and breads; (4) meat and a mixture of flour and water called *Boldra*; (5) beer; (6) *nanchang* or very strong beer, of which each partaker is obliged to drink one whole measure, which makes them thoroughly intoxicated; (7) *zilchang*, another kind of beer; (8) rice.

Nyobjhol is the procedure of fetching the bride (or bride-
[292] groom). Those who carry this out are called *nyopas*, and their official costume consists of beautiful silk dresses, and high-crowned, gilt hats. Their number varies from five to

842 587 562 357 [104] enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it is the husband's fault and they usually take in another man, in the hope that there will be children. Such a man is known as a *porsag,* that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 177 If a Tibetan woman marries a Mohammedan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

584 593 588 The children in Tibet are betrothed when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually by the parents. But this is not always the case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

584 593 [104] the same property, which is built especially for that purpose. This custom is known as *kangoo, kangchen choches* which in Tibetan means "small house, big house division." The children then become responsible for the agricultural and commercial activity, while the parents must live on an allowance or on a small part of the property which is put aside for them [104] (called *maskal* if it is for the mother, and *paskal* if it is for the fathers). This custom, though not rigidly enforced, seems very strange to us, since in our society the parents remain in charge of the family property until they die and the children have to go and earn a living for the family which they found.

593 It cannot be said that, in a Tibetan polyandrous family, one of the brothers is *eo ipso* more important that the others. For instance, it is not necessarily the eldest brother who is the head of the family, but usually the one with the most personality and sometimes even the mother, if she is in a position to run the family. The fathers are often somewhat afraid of their sons, because as soon as the sons become married, the parents have to leave the house. Thus, they try to ingratiate their children so that they will be left a sufficient amount of property on which to live when the children marry.

852 There is an initiation ceremony among the Tibetans, as with many other peoples in the world. It consists in the boys and girls having their hair cut at an early age, usually between their second and third year, by the mother together with one of the fathers, usually the most influential one.

593 There seems to be no fixed rule as to how a polyandrous family works out relations between husbands and wife. Most people seem to imagine that it is left to the wife to regulate with whom she shall have relations, but this is not always the case. If it is left to her, she naturally has to use tact so that the boys are all satisfied, but, in other cases, the decision is up to the brothers themselves, who remain at

Ti
516 or brothers living with the wife are
exclusively entitled to her.

To Instead of the Tibetan practice, in which
584 the children are betrothed by the parents
early, the Todas have a custom of marry-
582 ing first cousins very early, as child mar-
586 riages are common nearly all over southern
India. In such a marriage, the betrothal
wTi would likely take place at least in the first
or second year, and always between cou-
584 sins, the boys marrying paternal girl cou-
● sins and the girls marrying maternal boy
cousins. Later, these marriages are dis-
solved by divorce and the children are
entitled to remarry by inclination, but com-
pensation is always paid to the "legal"
husband. This is worked out in a tradi-
tional manner, so that it is certainly a
survival of some older form of marriage.

To Another difference with Tibetan poly-
595 andry, in the case of the Todas, is that
wTi one man is usually declared the father of
the children, though this is not always so.
[595] In the aforementioned case of Mab, the
woman said she had no preference as to
who was the father of her children. The
woman is regarded as part of the goods

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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585 men for another half hour and, on the stroke of midnight, they went up to the bridal chamber where the eldest brother was put to bed in another bed than the one in which his bride was already lying. This is the usual custom, I was assured, when the couple is not notoriously in love, and parents have arranged the match. They could sleep in the same bed together if it were otherwise. An old woman was left in the room all night to watch over them and see how they behaved, and this appeared to be an indication that the young people had, nevertheless, had a word to say in the choice of whom they would marry, because if they had not and the parents alone had arranged everything, two men and two women would have been on guard all night.

Thakur Partap Chand assured me that newly married couples never consummate the marriage on the first night; they only have physical relations with one another on their wedding day if they have had some before. Intercourse between husband and wife may not take place until a week later, I heard (I must say with some incredulity), or sometimes until after a month or even one year. The only explanation that I could find for such a curious statement was that perhaps in the case of arranged marriages, the partners are not keen to know each other, and postpone this duty as long as they can. But I cannot believe that so much delay is observed in the case of newly married couples who have voluntarily chosen each other.

In the early morning, the women fetched the bride out and, having dressed her in all her finery, brought her down to the main room again. The bridegroom and his brother were likewise taken down, adorned in their best clothes by their male friends and relatives. We found them sitting in state in the reception room where they had been seated during the wedding, but with the bride now relaxed and upright, and all the other paraphernalia removed – except the *chang* cauldrons.

[273] From the latter, an ample supply was served to the guests, together with tea. We were continually being pressed to drink, and after sipping our cups a few times, got tired of it and left the room. I took advantage of this to question the Thakur as to who the other people in the room were. He told me that they were relatives and friends of the bridegrooms' family. The bride was not represented, he assured me, because it was very rare that members of the bride's family should attend her wedding, never if they did not approve of the match. If their consent [584] has been obtained, they must first receive some assurance that their daughter will receive enough revenue from the land of her future husbands to satisfy them before they consent to appear. They will then do

585 273 a marriage to be auspicious, it was essential that as many of the guests as possible became intoxicated.

Mutton, rice and curry were distributed to all, and while the dancing went on, many laid themselves down to sleep. The lamas came up onto the roof and recited prayers for all. More *chang* was distributed by the girl, and everyone drank six cups at least. Each time that this took place or somebody got up to dance, the Garas would beat their drums to encourage revelry. Occasionally, they even rattled off tunes, which I was told meant "drink more". The lamas who were also drinking quite a lot, became very religious in this atmosphere, and kept on springing to their feet to bless the guests, the food, the crops and even the sheep belonging to the house, and which could be seen in the fields below.

585 Only the women would not join in the dance and needed much persuasion. Prem Chand, the Thakur's cousin, joined me in trying to get them to perform, and when eventually the older ladies of the house of Karpa (among them Tseten's mother) started a few steps, they all came along and joined in the fun. It was getting late now, and the sun was setting. The bridegrooms wandered about freely in the crowd during all this time, as did even the two younger ones who had not taken part in the ceremony.

As we broke up and went home that evening, we heard that the bride
was down stairs in the reception room with the other women of the house.
In twelve days, she would be going back to her parents' house, where she
[591] would stay one month in accordance with Lahuli custom. She would
only return to her new home after that time, bringing all her belongings
with her and settling down for good in the house of her husbands.

We stayed another three weeks in Lahul, and during this time I had
a number of opportunities to gather further data about the polyandrous
[115] people of the Bhaga valley. The Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, accompanied me everywhere, and for this reason, as well as because he spoke
English, he was my principal source of information.

423 428 595 Thus, Partap Chand told me that in *Khalsa kothi* holdings of polyandrous families, property may belong to the house, that is, to the brothers who own the land jointly and without division, but fields are nevertheless divided up among them, so that each of them receives his own
private revenue. Bad patches are distributed first among the brothers
of a household, and then the good pieces of land. Women can also re-
[584] ceive the revenue of fields put aside for them, and it is on this point
that a bride's relatives have to be satisfied before they will agree to their
daughter being "stolen" from them.

9

Ladak

the first one and with mutual consent. The first wife will always have the right to preside over the household, as she is the senior. 595

If a family has no heirs, it is possible for it to adopt one. This right 597 is practised by persons of both sexes, whether they are married or not. The institution is called *Bu-skal* (*Bu-sKal*) or *Bu-dod* (*Bu-dod*), which words have the significance of "child-instead". The general rule is that the person to be adopted is taken from among the kinsmen of the husband and is married with a girl chosen out of the relatives of the wife. On the other hand, if a girl is adopted from among the relations of the husband, a *mag-pa* must be brought in to her from the agnates of the wife. If the adopted child is taken from a family having no blood relation with the adopting person, *chang* and presentation scarves called *Kha-tag* (*K'ha-bTags*) are offered to the parents and relatives of the person to be adopted. In certain cases, this offer is repeated more than once and *Khatags* are placed on the neck of the person to be adopted and those of his parents again and again until they give way. If the adoption is made from among the kindred, the ceremony of giving *chang* and offering food in a family repast is considered sufficient. The adoption is in most cases recorded in writing in the form of a deed; [428] the person adopting binds himself or herself to recognize the adopted child as his or her only legal heir. Should a child be born to the adopting person after this, the offspring will not be able to take the place of the adopted person, the deed of adoption being irrevocable.

2. *Betrothal and wedding ceremonies*

Betrothal takes place at a very early age in Ladak – usually before ten 584 ● with regard to the girl, between that age and twelve with regard to the boys. First, horoscopes of the potential candidates are taken, and the [787] parents (or guardians) of the bridegroom or bridegrooms call at the house of the bride to present *chang* and *khatags* to her parents. This ceremony bears the name of *Tri chang* (*Tri-ch'hang*) and in it the petitioning party makes the offer six or seven times to express insistence.

When this part of the proceedings is finished, the parents of the girl accept the request, but demand for themselves and for their daughter more *chang*, tea, butter, *khatags* and food. All relatives of both sides take part in this ritual which is known as *Hol-chang* (*Hol-ch'hang?*) or *Tri-chang chen-mo* (*Tri-ch'hang ch'hen-mo*), "the great ask *chang*".

This is followed by the important *Nyen-chang* (*gNyen-ch'hang*) or [583] "relatives' *chang*". The bride-to-be's relatives receive more *chang*, [421] loaves, meat, tea, butter and *khatags*, as well as the bridegroom's con-

584 tribution to the dowry, called *Rin-t'ho* (*Rin-t'ho*), "price list". This
[583] will eventually constitute part of the wife's own personal property, called
[424] *Rag-tag* (*Rag-rTags?*), which can never be included in that of her husband or husbands, except by inheritance after her death. The second part of this ceremony consists in the essential *Go-ras* (*mGo-ras*) or "cotton cloth", the laying of *khatags* on the head of the bride (or brides if a *mag-pa* is married to more than one sister) which is a point of no return. If a betrothal is broken up after this ritual has taken place it is incumbent to act as though a divorce were necessary since the parties are considered to be as good as married. The near relatives of the girl receive more *khatags* from the bridegroom's family, and a piece of cloth is taken to the kitchen where it is tied round one of the pots. Other presents, such as ornaments, cash and turquoises are sometimes added here to the gifts made to the family of the bride.

In return, the visiting party receives a piece of cloth and a dish to
[585] take home. The latter will then plan the wedding feast, called *Bag-ston*
(*Bag-ston*), in every detail, calculate what the total of the dowry will
[436] amount to in *jos* (equivalent to Rupees 4/13/–), and decide the auspicious date upon which the final rites will take place.

If the girl's parents do not give their consent to the marriage of their
585 daughter as they are being requested to do, the boy's or boys' relatives
[583] will try and carry off the bride. The ceremony of laying the *go-ras* on her head will take place in the house of a male relative of hers, to whom presents have previously been given, and the marriage will be consummated immediately afterwards. The wife will then be sent home to her parents for some time. After they have been informed of what has happened, and forgiveness for the *fait accompli* has been obtained by repeated offerings of *chang* and *khatags*, the full wedding ceremony will take place. The latter bears the name of *Bag-log* (*Bag-log*) or "return wedding", but the wedding ritual in its entirety is called *Bagma-sbaste* (*Bagma-sBaste*) or "marriage by stealth". The same can apply to a *mag-pa* wedding, when it is called *Magpa-sbaste*.

[584] In the case of adults, the parties themselves arrange for their marriage, and there is no special wedding ceremony. After a period of cohabitation between the partners, the husband (or eldest of them) will visit the parents of the woman and give them *chang* and *khatags* in order to be accepted. Their consent, however, is not necessary for the union to be valid. This procedure is known in Ladak as *Pot'had-mot'had* (*Po-aT'had Mo-aT'had*), "male, female acceptance".

ccc Although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak

585

585 NUPTIALS--wedding (e.g., preferred time and place, ceremonial, persons attending and officiating); symbolic rites; means of assuring publicity and legality (e.g., banns, licenses); civil and ecclesiastical weddings; variations dependent upon status; associated property transactions (e.g., transfer of gifts, of bride-price); homecoming of bridal couple; consummation (e.g., immediate or deferred, private or public); defloration rites (e.g., jus primae noctis); concern for virginity of bride (e.g., exhibiting tokens); postwedding events (e.g., honeymoon, exchange of visits); status and activities of newly married persons; etc. See also:

Marital sexuality	83	Residence in marriage	591

The Botis are very social people in their habits, and every event is made the pretext for a feast, which usually ends in great uproariousness, and frequently in general drunkenness. Huge bowls of *Chang* form the chief attraction of an entertainment, and the song[*] and the laugh abound, until the liquor is finished. On these occasions they prefer merry or drinking songs. The singer is often accompanied by a fiddler, and sometimes by a drum. Exhibitions of female dancers frequently form a principal part of an entertainment; but the performers are more remarkable for their costume than for their graceful movements. The principal occasions on which these entertainments are held, are births, marriages, and deaths. The ceremonies are the following: 527 [273]

The birth-feast, *Tsas-Ton*, is held one week after the mother's confinement, when all the relatives assemble at her house to celebrate the child's birth. All the guests make presents to the mother, according to their means, of pieces of cloth and food, and occasionally of money. The party then dines, and the entertainment ends with a bowl of chang. The mother remains at home for one month. 852 846

The naming-feast, *Ming-Ton*, which answers to our christening, is held just one year after the birth. The child is then taken before some great lama, to whom an offering is made of a rupee or a quantity of wheat or barley, according to the means of the parties. The lama pronounces a name, and the relatives retire to the usual entertainment of dinner and chang. 553

The marriage-feast, *Bag-Ton*, is a much more formal business. When betrothed, the bridegroom proceeds to 585 ●

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[*] A drinking-song is appropriately called *Chang-gLu*, a "liquor-song."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

585 the bride's house with a bowl of chang, and the relatives discuss the wedding-day and the spirits together. After the bridal day has been fixed, the bridegroom is obliged to send a portion of food and chang daily to his elect. After the end of fifteen or twenty days all the relatives of both parties assemble together to ask the bridegroom what present he will make to the mother of the bride. The bridegroom makes an offer, generally of a few rupees (one to ten), according to his means and the ardour of his love. A poor man will give a pot of chang and a silver *jao* (sixpence) to his bride's mother, while the thriving man will give a present of ten rupees. About ten or fifteen days after the "asking," the relatives of both parties assemble at the bride's house, and conduct the lady in state to the bridegroom's house, where prayers are read by a party of lamas, and the couple are declared man and wife. The whole party then sits down to dinner and chang, of which the supply on these occasions is always ample. The entertainment lasts for several days, according to the means of the bridegroom, and the assembled lamas read prayers every morning to the half-sober guests.

764 The funeral-feast, *Shid-Ton*, varies according to the rank and circumstances of the deceased. For a rich man, a large party of lamas assemble, and read prayers daily until the body is burned, which does not usually take place for fifteen or twenty days. For a poor man, only a few lamas meet together and read prayers for four or five days (never beyond a week), while the body remains in the house. During this time a piece of cloth is fixed over the doorway as a sign of mourning. The lamas are regaled with food and tea daily; and, when

were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word. 000

BELL--teeloo or treelo (small or hand bell) and SHnga (large). The SHnga is not unlike a small Church bell, it does not swing but is sounded by means of a string, tied to the tongue, which is thus made to strike the bell. tripSHil (the bells usually seen on the breast band of the ponies of Lámas and Lhása men). 534

BETROTH TO--treechhang (or teechhang) stàr ches, among Ladákis, 584
betrothals, which are the occasion for a little drinking of tea
and chhang,[1] are arranged by parents in consultation with
relatives. Having fixed upon a match, which from a wordly [787]
point of view, seems desirable, they then refer to the lámas, [793]
to see if the destinies of the proposed couple suit. If they are
found to be unsuited the betrothal is given up. A youth is be-
trothed when he is about 20 years of age, and a girl perhaps
two years earlier. After the betrothal or "teechhang stàr ches, 585 ●
the wedding or "pakston" may take place within a month, or
it may be put off for a year or more. If a male child pos- 768
sessing property, is left alone in the world, he is betrothed at 584
once to some fully grown woman, who acts, as [11] his nurse
during his childhood, and as his wife during his later years.
This is not found an inconvenient practice as a Tibetan may [595]
have two "little" wives, in addition to his original "pakston"
wife. The dowry (rinto) is fixed at the time of betrothal, but 585
it is not given till the marriage takes place, and sometimes
even after that. This dowry is paid by the bridegroom to the
father or other nearest male relative of the bride.

BIBLE--zhalchat hngáma is the word used by Missionaries, meaning "mouth promise former." If an ordinary villager used the expression, he would mean that he had obtained a promise actually from the mouth of some superior. See also under "Gospel". 000

BLESS TO--chagyang táng ches. This term is applicable to the 793
"laying on of hands" or blessing, bestowed by a high lama, 788
or incarnation, placing his hand on the bowed and bared heads of the laymen kneeling before him. The general word for "to bless" is "skiopches" God bless you; konjok kiol la skiopSHes dzat SHik. Chinlap táng ches is "to give sacred pills".

[1] [i.e, barley beer-- ANALYST]

waist to the calf and then tight to the ankle. The women's 291
garments are of two patterns, the one called "potdur" or
"botdur" and the other "sulma." The former are wide and
short, coming only down to the calf, where they are tucked
inside a piece of felt worn like a gaiter. The latter are like
the garments seen in India, loose from waist to knee, and
then very tight and very long, lying in folds from the calf
down to the ankle. Among the Buddhists of Ladák, a woman 851
wears these garments of white patoo till she gives birth to a
child, after which, she wears them of black patoo. Among 563
the ArGHons[1] of Ladak, a woman wears white patoo trousers 585
only till she is married, after which she wears black.

(14)BRICK--páoo, this is the general term; it would be understood 333
to mean the common sun-dried brick, which is made, not
of clay, but of earth without the admixture of straw or any
other binding substance. "Kaktsey páoo' is red or burnt
brick, made of clay. These are seldom used, for owing to
scarcity of wood they are expensive, and the rainfall in
Ladák is so slight, that sun-dried bricks do very well. Once [132]
in 8 or 10 years heavy rain falls, and when this happens,
nearly every house in the town of Leh becomes unfit for
habitation, as the sun-dried bricks can't stand wet.

BRICK-LAYER--rtsikspon. As a matter of fact, in Ladák, the 463
carpenters are the brick-layers.

BRIDE--pakma or pakmo. A woman in Ladák may become a 581
bride at any age after 10. The usual age, both among 582
Buddhists and Arghons[1] is from 14 to 18 years. Beauty in a 563
bride is not much sought after among the Buddhists as they
think beautiful brides are apt to become troublesome wives.
The best bride is she who has the most property and is the
best able to look after it. See also "Wife".

BRIDEGROOM--These are of two classes. Pakpho is the term for 582
"bridegroom" as understood by Europeans. His age is usual- 595
ly from 14 to 20 years. Although the younger brothers of a 585
bridegroom are entitled to share their eldest brother's wife,
so long as they live under the same roof, they never figure
as bridegrooms, and they take no part in the marriage ceremony.

[1] [Half-caste Mohammedans--Analyst]

appreciated by foreigners, but constituting the national drink of the people of Ladák. 273

[97]MARRIAGE--pakston or respectfully skoobak. After the "betrothal" ceremony (see Betrothal) has been performed, a month or two is usually allowed to elapse before the wedding takes place, though sometimes a year or more passes between the time of betrothal and the time of marriage. When a day has been fixed for the marriage, the procedure is as follows:-- 584

On the day fixed, the relatives (nien) of the bride (pakma) assemble at the bride's house, and those of the bridegroom (pakpho) at the bridegroom's house. At night-fall the bridegroom goes with from 5 to 7 of his friends (ngiópa) to the bride's house, he finds the outer door (giázGHo) of the yard (stárá) shut, and guarded by male relatives of the bride, he gives a few rupees to them and they then allow him to enter, but when passing between this gate and the door leading into the house itself (giázGHoi nángkuk) he is surrounded by the bride's female relatives, who pretend to be very angry, and beat him with small sticks. To these also the bridegroom has to give a few rupees, and he is then allowed to enter the house. The bridegroom, with his friends, is then feasted by the bride's relatives, but the bride does not appear. Much "chhang" drinking, music and dancing is indulged in, till about 1 or 2 o'clock the next morning, when the best man (ngiátheetpa or ngiáthritpa) accompanied by some of the older male relatives of the bridegroom, goes to the kitchen (mákhang) in company with the parents and relatives of the bride. The bridegroom and the rest of his party do not go to the kitchen. 585

The guests take their seats in the kitchen and each one puts his drinking cup (korey) on the ground in front of him and "chhang' is then handed round by a male relative of the bride's, accompanied by one of female relatives, who has a stick in one hand. The latter takes up the cup of each guest in turn and fills it, and if the guest fails to drink freely, she beats him. This ceremony is called "nanchhang" or "insistance chhang." During this time a ceremony known as "thóhloo" is taking place, it is enacted by two old men, one being a relative of the bride and the other a relative of the bridegroom. First the relative of the bride gets up and sings a sonnet in praise of the bridegroom; the other old man must then get up and reply, by singing a similar sonnet in praise of the bride, after which the first man again sings, and so on for two or three times, if either singer fails to reply to the other, he has to give the other party a few rupees, or a goat, etc. At this time the bride's parents stretch a rope across the room, and on it they hang all the clothes, ornaments, etc., which constitute the "trousseau" of the bride, any cash there may be as a "dot" is counted and placed in a box. These clothes, etc., are called "raktak." A list of the [98] articles is then made out; it is called "zongeek," and is carefully kept, as a record of all the fine things given on the occasion. The best man then takes possession of the raktak and remarks that it is getting late, and that he would be glad if the bride could be made over to him.

The bride's relatives then protest that they don't know where the bride is, as her girl friends (yátodzámo) have hidden her. The best man has to give a few rupees to the yátodzámo, who then produce the bride who is in a flood of tears (often genuine), and lead her up to her mother. The bride then embraces the feet of her mother, father, brothers, sisters, and other relatives, after which the best man puts on to the bride's head a hat called "SHamskor-i teebi" (with very broad brim, fur-lined underneath and velvet covered above), and over that he fastens a "khatak" or "scarf of salutation," and then the bride's mother's brother (azhung) takes the bride upon his back and carries her out to the "giázGHo" where a horse is in waiting for her.

The first to leave the bride's house is the ngiátheetpa (best man) who is followed by the ngiópa (bridegroom's relatives), then comes the bridegroom (pakpho) then comes the bride (pakma), who has not yet been seen or spoken to, on that day, by the bridegroom, and the rear is brought up by the bride's friends, musicians and spectators. As the wedding party passes by other villages, on its way to the bridegroom's house, the villagers come out with offerings of satoo, ghee, etc., called "kalchhor." The ngiátheetpa touches these offerings and remits them, and gives a small present to the persons bringing them.

On arrival at the bridegroom's houses, the door is found open, and in front of it are some Lámás (priests). The bridegroom and his party dismount, and beg the bride to dismount; she, weeping all the time, refuses to do so, but eventually the bridegroom's friends give her a present of a horse or a rupee or two, according to their wealth, and she then dismounts. Bride and bridegroom then stand up in front of the Lámás, with clasped hands and bowed heads, and certain prayers are read. The prayer book is held by a novice or Láma of low rank, and the Hlóbon or head Lama reads from it. While doing so, he holds, in his left hand a bell (treeloo) and a small drum (daroo), and in his right hand, a sceptre (dorjey) and some grains of rice and barley. He rings the bell and sounds the drum with his left hand, and with the right he scatters the grain over the heads of the young couple. The bridal party then enter the bridegroom's house where they find two mystic signs, traced by the Lámás in barley or other grain, on the floor. On one of these the bride sits, and on the other the bridegroom. 586

Between them is placed a measure, filled with grain, in which is an arrow standing up, and having a small pinnacle of clarified butter affixed to its top. The bridegroom's mother then offers "chhang" to the bride and bridegroom, after which a Láma comes and sprinkles them with holy water. This completes the religious part of the ceremony. The bridegroom, with all the males of the party, then goes to another room where dancing and merriment takes place. The bride, with all the women of the party, remains behind. After remaining a while watching the dancing, the bridegroom is permitted to retire and rejoin his bride. During the whole of the next day, the merriment is kept up, and in the afternoon the bride, dressed out in all her best, and wearing all the jewels she possesses, comes out with her husband and walks round to show herself off. She has to dance with the ladies of the party, and the bridegroom with the men. Having done this, they are at liberty to retire. The feasting is kept up that night, and the next day the guests go off to their respective homes. For seven days, bride and bridegroom remain in their house, but on the eighth day they must start on a journey, to make their bow to all their relatives. Having performed this duty, they return to their home, and begin their ordinary married life.

If the parents of the bride and bridegroom are too poor to bear the expense of a regular wedding, they arrange that the bridegroom shall come quietly some night, and elope with his lady love. 583

[99]In such cases, that is to say, in the absence of any merry-making, no civil or religious marriage ceremony is performed. If at any future time, within a year or so, the parties concerned are in a position to give the marriage feast to friends and Lámás, they 585

585 can do so, but the fact of its not being given, does not invalidate the marriage. It is considered the correct thing to give a marriage feast, for the giving of it gratifies the vanity of the person concerned, and what is far more important, if no feast is given, the bridegroom gets no "raktak" with his bride. In most oriental countries it is customary to marry a girl, at latest, so soon as she reaches the age of puberty, but in Ladák a bride is generally as much as 16 years old before she is married. Should it turn out, as not infrequently happens, that the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom does not take it amiss, not on philosophic grounds, but because he really deems it a matter of no importance.

595 585 Younger brothers of the bridegroom take no part in the marriage ceremony, though after the whole of the ceremonies are over, they become by right co-husbands, whether the lady likes it or not, and whether the elder brother likes it or not.

583 585 The ceremonies observed at makpa weddings are similar to those of the pakston wedding, with this difference that instead of the bride being taken away to the bridegroom's house and becoming his property, the bridegroom remains at the bride's house, and becomes her property.

583 MARRY TO--pakston cho ches, to marry in the ordinary way. Pakston tang ches, to give in marriage. Makpa khiong ches to take a "makpa" husband, and makpa chha (or khier) ches, to be taken in marriage as a "makpa" husband (for "makpa" see "Husband)."

231 [439] MASTIFF--zang-khee or cháng-khee. The zang khee is the real Tibetan mastiff, the cháng-khee is the Chángthang half-bred looking mastiff. The pure mastiffs are procurable only in Lhása; they are very handsome, but costly to purchase, and quite useless, as they very seldom become properly domesticated. They won't follow well, and they can't march or stand the slightest heat.

[100]

311 MEADOW--ól-tháng (a field of lucerne grass). There are no grass fields in Ladák, though turf is found near the edge of a stream.

264 262 MEAL--pakphey (atta), záches (food). The following are the meals eaten by a Ladáki during the day, viz., (1) chheenan taken at dawn, and consisting of satoo: with tea or milk; (2) tsáma or tsálma taken about 10 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea, (3) pharma taken at noon, and consisting of satoo and tea, with

exorcisms of demons, is in the shape of half a dorje (thunder- 533
bolt) which, cast in ore, belongs to the equipment of the 539
lama magicians.

First Girl Oh, saw you then not my companion?
Saw you not my friend Tseringskyid?
Second Girl You companion, I know her not,
Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.
I saw pass by a beautiful maiden,
She was spinning a thread of pure silk.

/72/Now the song ceased. Even the circle of arguing and haggling 000 parties had become quiet. The old familiar sounds of the alternate song with the merry play of the two girls had not missed their effect. The heated disputes that had just gone on again became peaceful chatting and soon everything was pure bliss and friendship. It was late in the afternoon. The sun had long gone down behind the mountains that fringed the valley when the people from Kalatse finally mounted their horses and rode homeward.

The Contract and the Relatives' Beer (55)

55. Tibetan t'ig-ĉan and nyen-ĉan.

584

After about fourteen days the relatives and the p'as-pun of both houses again gathered together, this time in Lobsang Wanggyal's house in Kalatse, for the contract beer which at the same time was to be the "relatives' beer," that is to say, the engagement celebration. Again butter tea and flat bread cakes were served, and then they went over to the chang--during these months beer was constantly being brewed in large clay jugs in both houses; they ate, they drank and they sang, now the men, now the women and the girls, and when the men were again in the mood for it, the bargaining and the haggling over the "price of the mother milk" started anew. After long bickering and quarreling back and forth and threats of breaking off the negotiations, they agreed upon 50 žo for the time being, yet the Kalatse people were still hoping to knock something off that sum at the "beers" that were yet to follow.

Now the moment had come to decide upon the guests that 585● should be invited to the wedding. Each side endeavored to invite as 431

● 585 431 as many guests of a superior rank as possible, so that they could show off with their aristocratic connections and also outdo the other side. Lobsang Wanggyal was less inclined towards this, since he favored a limited number of guests; but his mother insisted upon severe competition here. However, honor and dignity bring burdens with them (noblesse oblige). Every guest had to receive a gift, and the more aristocratic he was, the greater the gift would have to be. A considerable list of guests was finally drawn up. There was the galon from Jangpa near Leh who, the people in the Chirpon house in Tingmogang claimed, was related to them. According to custom /72/ he had to receive nine greeting ribbons of yellow silk (mt'san-pa); each of the five lamas who were asked to attend the engagement ceremony received 13 greeting ribbons, the lonpo from Domkhar, whom the Dragshos people invited as their relative, received nine, the three village magistrates of Kalatse, Teya, and Tingmogang each received seven greeting bands and the remaining farmer relatives and members of the clan, according to his standing, rank and property, were given five to seven tsanpa as a greeting and a mark of esteem. The best men, the bridesmaids and the female friends of the bride (bag-rogs) were each to obtain three rupees and four pieces of calico. As a formality the parents of the bride received the same present from the Dragshos house.

585 Finally they discussed what kind of expenses should be incurred at the wedding. Old Norbu Wangchug wanted to make a great display. He made his demands nonsensically high. The Kalatse people were in favor of a more modest celebration, for they and their clan had to pay most of the expenses. Finally they agreed upon five sheep that were to be killed, 40 chang (clay vessels of beer), 300 flat bread cakes, two bati (56) Ziegeltee /tile tea/, seven hide sacks of butter, and in addition salt, natron, vegetables, onions as much as the cook would demand, the necessary greeting cloths, and other things of the kind.

000 Finally they were tired of haggling and for the rest of the evening they gave themselves over entirely to enjoyment and rejoicing. They ate, they drank, they sang, and they danced. Once even the bridegroom joined the men engaged in drinking and talking. But not for long. He did not enjoy noisy company. Once or twice the bride

[804] 56. 1 bati is equivalent to four pounds of English weight, equalling 1,800 grams.

"Nyopa" is a corruption which has led to the translation "buyer," which in my opinion is incorrect. My informant Gau Puntsog always stuck to the form "Nyaopa."

the best men, were invited on this occasion. Under the leadership of the sNatridpa (sna-ak'rid-pa) these have the task at the main wedding of taking the bride from her father's house into that of the bridegroom. At the "ordering beer" they were entrusted with this duty, just as the five bridesmaids (bag-grogs) were entrusted with theirs. Furthermore, many another person was engaged to perform the many services necessary at the wedding celebration, not last nor least of these the cook and the water carrier. Again they consumed ample amounts of beer; once more the bridegroom's two uncles tried to bargain about the "price of the mother milk" in the interests of the Dragshos, and once more there began a haggling and quarreling until the old Chirpon started up angrily and said: "Da drig (now it's enough)! Now I'm sick of this haggling! If you don't want to give the 50 žo then you can get yourselves one of those dirty smith's daughters (gar-bai bo-mo) as a bride for Drogpa Namgyal!" This had its effect. The haggling, which the Dragshos disliked anyway, ceased; but something like that he would not take from the Chirpon people and so he decided the dispute by saying: "Now, just be satisfied, Acho (older brother)! You will get your 50 žo, by the Three Jewels! Surely you know that a Dragshos does not do things in a shabby manner." At the end there was yet another incident. After /75/ all offices and services had been distributed a lama who was present asked in what year the sNatridpa, the chief best man, was born. "I am a Paglopa, of the pig year," the latter answered himself. "Then everything is in order," the lama replied, "a pig year person brings luck into the house; it would have been bad if you had been of the dragon year, that would have brought misfortune. So it is a lucky coincidence that the chief best man is a pig year person.

/76/

The Wedding (61) ( )

61. Tibetan bag-ston, in polite speech sku-bag.

Now it was the eve of the great day of the wedding, the 21st of the first month, a Thursday (Donar's day, Jupiter's day), as it had been designated by the onpo (soothsayer). The guests had rushed to the spot from the surrounding mountain villages, some even from the

585 capital Leh and its surroundings; hardly anyone declined the invitation; they came together from places removed by three or four days' journey. After all, it was winter and everybody had time, for the work in the fields and in the summer places was at a standstill. At such times every change was welcome, and most of all a wedding in the house of a rich person. The Chirpon wanted to have a magnificent wedding, that they knew.

292 All the guests came dressed in their best festive clothing. Anyone who did not have a good suit--there were also some poor people among those invited--borrowed one from his neighbor who was better off and at least bought himself a new, bright red, green or blue cap, wrapped a new, brightly patterned long sash around his hips, and tied a white "handkerchief" onto the left side of the sash, less for practical use than for ornament. The women and the girls had put on their festive trinkets and garments: dresses in red, blue or green, with colored sashes and fur coverings, many turquoise and silver ornaments with which one tried to outdo the other.

585 Long before the winter sun had gone up in the Indus valley, which is very narrow here, the five best men, the Nyaopas, led by the sNatridpa and the Trashispa (bkra-śis-pa), appeared in the Dragshos house. They were all handsome young fellows dressed in colored cloth suits; each one had a long white or red shawl placed around his shoulders and wore on his head the pointed cone-shaped hat of the Nyaopas, covered with fine, glittering metal threads. These were joined by five /following p. 76 there is one full-page illustration with the subtitle "Tibetan women in Ladakh (Original Tibetan drawing). "/ /77/ girls (dpa-mo, called "heroines") of the circle of relatives and of the clan, and five other fellows (dpa-bo, "heroes") for the bride's following. After all of them had been amply regaled with butter tea and flat bread cakes early in the morning in the chansa (living room-kitchen) and after they had danced there--the fellows by themselves and the girls by themselves--all of them got ready for the procession in order to fulfill their function at the wedding celebration, which was to take place during the day in the bride's house in Tingmogang.

Then the company breaks up in order to set out on the way to Tingmogang. The procession is headed by a pair from the group of dpa-bo and dpa-mo (neither of them may be orphans). The boy carries a clay dish with glimmering frankincense whose smell is intended to please the gods; the girl carries a brass beer jug at whose upper rim the usual lumps of butter are stuck on in a circle. The sNatridpa follows with the lucky arrow (mda-dar) (62) in his hand; to the arrow are 585

62. Literally "arrow with flag." Sometimes there are five little flags of various colors fastened to the lucky arrow.

fastened a long strip of white, gauze-like material and a small metal mirror. Then follow the four other Nyaopa in order, with the remaining dpa-bo and dpa-mo; further there marches the manager (nyer-dpon) of the wedding, a neighbor of the Dragshos, who is an expert in the secrets of Tibetan cooking and who has taken it upon himself to prepare, with a whole staff of helpers, the various wedding feasts of the following days at a considerable fee. Then comes the bridegroom with his father Lobsang Wanggyal, and the two uncles Stobsldan and Tsang Sodnam. From the neighboring houses the procession is now joined by relatives and members of the clan, men and women; the ones bring clay dishes with glimmering frankincense, the others jugs of beer. Plates with flour, barley and rice are also brought out. All contributors put their gifts down on the ground and the Nyaopas dance around them three times in a circle. Then the best men, led by the sNatridpa, step forward and strew and throw some of the gifts up in the air: a food and drink offering to the village and house gods so that they may be favorably inclined towards the marriage and will not harm the expected bride. The best men are all the more energetic in this activity since the nyer-dpon (manager) has promised them /78/ half a rupee's worth of bakshi if they do it well.

Thereupon the procession starts. First it goes to the lhato, the 585
altar and living quarters of the village god (yul-lha) at the mouth of 789
the side valley there under the large, wide-branched poplar at the edge of the watering trench. The old devil-tamer Dud-joms, whom they also cannot get along without today, had gone to the spot. There he stands by the lhato and looks intently at the white-washed altar, at the horns of wild sheep and ibex that are piled up there and the twigs of tamarisks and juniper trees which are stuck between the horns. He stares as though he could see the Lha bodily before him. In the one hand he swings the magical dagger (p'ur-ba) and also the magical bell and in the other hand he holds the little rattling drum made of human skulls. He invokes the Lha and exorcizes him by powerful formulas as well as by the power of his magical dagger and of the music. Stobsldan plants a new flag with printed formulas of exorcism among those already present, places a few dishes with rice and barley

585 below at the edge of the altar. Then he calls out loud and the entire
789 chorus of those around him joins in the piercing yell: "Kye, kye, gsol,
gsol, lha rgyal-lo! (Oh, oh, we call upon you, we call upon you! You,
god, have conquered (the hostile demons)."

585 Finally the entire company mounts the horses that have been
held in readiness, and in a comfortable amble they ride through the
gorge and over the plateau towards Tingmogang. The day before, a
whole crowd of men and women had already traveled there, heavily
laden with carrying baskets containing clay jugs of beer, bread, flour,
meat and other provisions. Within an hour and a half the riders have
361 reached the edge of the plateau, where it drops down steeply to the
valley that cuts deep into the mountain. In the valley lies the large
double village Teya-Tingmogang, where the wedding celebration is to
take place today. Desolate and bare the mountain scenery lies before
them, only down in the wide bottom of the valley can one see here
and there a group of willow trees, poplars, and apricot trees which now
in winter stand bare of leaves. Valley and slopes are covered with
snow. Among the houses of the farmers which lie scattered in groups
342 down in the valley, the large, stately house of /79/ Norbu Wangchug,
the Chirpon house, is quite conspicuous. It has a flat roof, projecting
open balcony like all the other houses, but it is much larger and better
built; the windows are larger too, and closed off with lattices. None
of the houses has glass windows.

585 The procession of Kalatse people has now descended the steep
path from the plateau and is slowly moving to the Chirpon house. From
all houses and from the flat roofs the riders are greeted with "žu, žu,
no-no-pa-le! (good day, good day, you gentlemen)." Now they have
arrived at a fork in the road. The train halts before any one of its
[776] riders has passed this fork. Here a road devil (lam-bgegs) leads his
existence. The dreaded devil must be appeased by an offering of in-
[182] cense and scattering (of barley and beer) and by a dance. The same
thing is repeated two more times until they have arrived at the Chirpon
house far up in the valley.

Now the procession of Kalatse people stands before the gate of the large farmyard. It is locked. The bridegroom and his followers are not given a friendly welcome. From the yard they can hear a loud babel of voices, excited talking back and forth of the men, giggling and joking of the women. The Chirpon people are gathered in the courtyard with their entire tribe, but they do not admit the Nyaopas who now request permission to enter in order to demand the bride for the bridegroom. 585 ●

The Nyaopas outside the gate and the Chirpon people in the yard now start a singing game,, the meaning and content of which is the following: The five Nyaopas come to buy the bride in the name of the bridegroom's father. They claim to be the sons of god who [776] have come from the realm of the gods on the high mountains, from the region of the glaciers. Their appearance arouses astonishment among the inhabitants of the house and their clan; for, as they believe, no one could escape from that realm which on all four "points of the compass" (above, below, to the right and to the left) is guarded by four female animals. The guards are: the white ice lion with the turquoise-colored mane (sen-ge dkar-mo gyu-ral-can) above at the glacier; the little fish golden-eye (nya-mo gser-mig) below in the glacial brook; the wild queen of the birds (bya-rgyal rgod-mo) on the rock to the right; the giant striped tigress (rgya-stag k'ra-mo) in the sandal wood forest to the left.

/80/ The people of the bride's house now jokingly put a long 585 series of questions in the form of a song (63) to test the Nyaopas, which 533 the latter answer by likewise singing a song. As soon as an answer is not made satisfactorily the gate is opened for just a moment from the inside, the boys and girls rush out and beat the Kalatse boys amid rough jokes, Then the Chirpon people withdraw again and lock the scarcely opened gate The singing game begins. 585 533 539

The Chirpon people inside in the courtyard of the bride's house sing:

The Ice God closed off the three valleys

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63. The songs that now follow are taken from the collection Tibetische Hochzeitslieder /Tibetan Wedding Songs/, collected by A. H. Francke, Folkwang Verlag, Hagen i. W. and Darmstadt, 1923. They have been translated by Francke from the Tibetan (Ladakh dialect), and Mrs. Paalzow has transposed them into their original meter. I am giving some of the songs in my translation. According to Francke some of the songs sung here represent a kind of catechism of the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans and give insights into the mythology and the cosmology of that period.

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High up above where the glacier lioness (64) lives,

[773] 64. The "white ice lioness with her turquoise-colored mane" (sen-ge dkar-mo gyu-ral-can), a personification of the glacier, the riding animal of the goddess of heaven; she is one of the mythical animals of ancient Tibetan mythology, which are there associated with the gods, just as /the "wild queen of the birds" and the other animals mentioned in note 65, which in the original text follows directly after note 64. --translator./

Dear guests, please tell us, how did you get through?
Thunderbolt rock is fenced off to the right
By the mountain where the Queen of the Birds (65) is on guard.

[773] 65. The "wild Queen of the Birds" (bya-rgyal rgod-mo), further the "giant, striped Tigress" (rgya-stag k'ra-bo), the (female) "Fish Golden-Eye" (k'yu-ru nya-mo--or--nay-mo gser-mig) and some others in verses 2, 3 and 4/are all mythical animals of ancient Tibetan mythology, as explained in the previous note./

Pray, tell, you gentlemen, how came you through?
To the left in the sandal wood forest
The Giant Tigress lies lurking;
Dear guests please tell us how you got through?
Down below three of the valleys are closed off
By the brook where little fish Golden-Eye snaps.
Pray, tell, you gentlemen, how came you through?
Heroes from the Nine-stone Castle! (66)

66. The sense of this first line of the verse is difficult to grasp. It is not clear what is to be understood by the Nine-stone Castle /"Neunsteinburg"/. Perhaps it would be more correct to translate it as "You wanderers over the Nine-stones."

What has brought you into this land,
Into the midst of this village, tell?

Chorus of the Chirpon people in the yard:

Is that not right, worthy friends?

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The Nyaopas answer from outside:

Over the Ice God's three valleys,
Over the Lioness' glacier body
We swung ourselves with a leap.
We mounted over blocks of ice
And crushed with our feet crusts of ice.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.
To the right by the thunderbolt mountain,
Over the body of the Queen of the Birds

/Following page 80 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "The hermit Tsetan--with a prayer wheel (his hair is wound around his head in long strands)"; the second showing "Ladakh women rubbing oil out of apricot stones on flat boulders." / /81/

We flew from rock to rock,
Stepped over stone rubble
And stepped on firm ground.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.
To the left through the sandal wood mountain,
Over the colored hide of the tigress
We slipped from tree to tree,
Then we walked through the underbrush
And stepped on many bushes.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.
In the lower three valleys
We swam through deep streams
Where the little fish Golden-Eye snaps,
We waded through rivers,
Then splashed through the little brooks.
No one stayed behind, we are safely here.

Chorus of the people before the gate:

Is that all right, you mighty friends?

The Chirpon people in the yard go on asking:

Up there in the Ice God's highland valleys
The white Glacier Lioness stopped you.
Worthy guests, how did you get through?

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On the thunderbolt rock to the right
The talon of the Queen of the Birds seized you.
Worthy guests! How did you get through?
To the left in the dense sandal wood mountain
The tigress' claw must have held you fast.
Worthy guests! How did you get through?
In three deep valleys surrounded by streams
Little fish Golden-Eye must have drawn you down.
Worthy guests! How did you get through?

Chorus of the Chirpon people in the yard:

Is it not so, you mighty friends?

The Nyaopas outside answer:

Threefold in the Ice God's highland plateaus
Did the Glacier Lioness hold us imprisoned in her claws.
/82/ On the nine suns' brothers' day
There melted in the ice a very fine crack--
As wide as a helmet--but we got through it.
To the right on the thunderbolt enclosed mountain
The Queen of the Birds would not let us go.
But once she moved to the side
And a stone the size of a die
Was loosened--we slipped through.
To the left on the sandal wood enclosed mountain
The Giant Tigress put us under her charm.
But the K'alpa's (67) fire was burning hotly.
It created for us a clearing no larger
Then the size of a turquoise. We slipped through it.
In three lower valleys surrounded by streams,
You say, a little fish Golden-Eye held us fast.
There came of winter moons three--
There sprang up a well the size of a knothole.
And we slipped through that.

---

67. K'alpa (bskal-pa) an era in Buddhistic cosmology.

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The people of the Chirpon house:

The tune was good! /or, "The way (of doing) was good"/

Now the Nyaopas are given a number of riddles in the form of songs by the Chirpon people:

Who measures the heavens' space,
Who the ether's space? (68)

68. Here the dictating Tibetan has, I believe, erroneously dictated "dbyibs-kyi ajal" instead of "dbyins-kyi ajal," or else the copyist made a mistake. That latter version fits much better into the context, and so I translated it as in the first line.

Say, who did measure out
The span from East to West?
And who did measure out
The span from South to North?
Who may have plumbed the depth?
And who measured the height?
Say, who measured the glacier mountain?
Who the slate rock?
Who measured the A and Om (69)

69. A and Om--two mystical syllables much used in prayers and in invocations to the gods and to Buddha. They are supposed to possess secret divine powers. [789]

In their depth and content?
Who did measure out the plateau?
Who the lower valley?
Say, who took the village's measurement? 33/
Who measured out the home and dwelling place?
And with what measure?
Who measured the inside and the outside world?
And with what measure?

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The Nyaopas answer:

Heaven's space and ether's space
Are measured by sun and moon.
The sun, the screen of the throne, measures
East and West.
And the measurement of South and North.
Is taken by the white moon.
Rainfall and damp dew
Measure height and depth.
Glacier mountain and slate rock
Were measured by the Glacier Lioness.
The two syllables hum and pad (70)

[789] 70. hum and pad are two more magical syllables.

Measure A and Om.
Plateau as well as lower valley
Were measured by the chilly wind.
King and minister probably did measure
The castle and the village,
Home and dwelling place were measured for us
By our ancestors.
Seven brothers then did measure
Both inner and outer space.

The Chirpon people in the yard call out:

Good, you mighty friends!

Now the people in the yard sing the song of the Osier Switch (71):

71. With the osier switches the Nyaopas were beaten whenever they gave unsatisfactory answers.

The turquoise-colored switch in my hand,
Whose home is India,
Grew up in the heart of Tibet
And grew to be strong and firm at the Dogri (72).

72. Name of a mountain.

Behold the twig: it is of gold!
Its tip is green: it is turquoise (73).

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73. Compare not 51.

/84/ Indra, lord of the Gods, gave us
The command: Strike!
Gave with it the sacred prophet's word:
Sun and moon, to the two
Will be born a son,
Companion to the planets and the moon.
Banish evil tricks!
Frighten away bad guests!
Rain down blows, noble staff,
Whizzing on their best clothes!

This is the story of the staffs.

The Nyaopas answer:

Do not hit with birch or barberry!
Nor hit us with juniper wood!
If you knock in our hats
With one of those three woods,
You will pay for it a thousandfold.
If the body is injured,
You'll pay for it a thousandfold.
If you break the earring,
You'll pay for it a thousandfold.
If the saddle tears
You'll pay for it a thousandfold.

The people:

Quite right, mighty friends! Hail to you!

The Chirpon people:

This green osier switch
Here in my hand

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Covers with turquoise-green stem,
Green leaves, the land of man.
The lord of the world (74), the king, issued

74. The Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is designated as the "lord of the world" (also of the three worlds); Indra, too, often receives this title.

The command: Strike with it!
And also gave the sacred prophet's word:
"Prince of the Middle Fort!
A son issues from you,
The companion of the planets and the stars."
Extinguish the malignant fire!
Banish evil tricks!
/85/ Frighten away bad guests!
Rain down blows, noble staff,
Whizzing on their best clothes!

Chorus: Hail to you!
May happiness and well-being accompany you!

The Nyaopas:

Do not hit with mountain willow or sallow,
Nor with bramble which pricks us!
If you knock in our hats
With those three woods,
You will rue it a thousand times, and so forth.

Chorus: Good, you mighty friends!
Good luck and hail to you!

The Chirpon people:

The turquoise osier switch here in my hand,
Whose root is of shell, covers
Deep down the land of the nymphs.
"Strike them!" is the wish

Of the Queen of the Nymphs Lchokpoma Drossilchan (75) 585

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75. Tibetan lcog-po-ma dros-sil-can, the "rocking, shade-supplying willow."

She also spoke the sacred prophet's word:
From the middle of the earth
There sprouts a nymph's son,
The village god is close to him. --
Extinguish the malignant fire!
Banish evil tricks! and so forth.

Chorus: Om! Hail to you!

The Nyaopas:

Now, listen with your ears:
Neither walnut twig nor tamarisk,
Nor bramble take for beating!
If you hit with these three woods
And knock our hats in,
You will rue it a thousandfold.
If the body is harmed
You will rue it a thousandfold, and so on.

The people of the Chirpon house keep making attacks from the courtyard and beat down upon the Nyaopas with osier switches. /86/ But each time they are turned back with the assertion that the sticks are not of the right wood. They, the Nyaopas, are after all the sons of gods, and therefore they are only allowed to be beaten with twigs from the tree of the world which has it roots in the world of the nymphs (under the earth) and which grows through the earth (the realm of human beings) into the heavens (the world of the gods) (76).

76. According to the ancient, pre-Buddhistic cosmology.

The Chirpon again sally forth a number of times, on these occasions armed with different "woods": cooking spoons, soup ladles made of wood, wooden oven-rakes with charred tips, and the like, to the loud amusement of the crowd inside and outside.

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The Nyaopas sing: Fire hooks, black-nosed (77),

77. Oven-rakes (or pokers) made of wood, with a charred tip.

Soup and basting ladles? No!
If you knock our hats in
With those three woods
You will rue it a thousandfold.
If the body is harmed
You will rue it a thousandfold, and so on.

Since the Chirpon people cannot guess the right wood, the Nyaopas sing on:

There grows a wood with which one beats friends,
A magnificent, a supple wood, From
From the tree which has one root only,
And which still bears three tall tops,
Tops--three, branches--six.

Bird Garuda (78)

78. Garuda (so it is in Sanskrit); Tibetan k'yun, mythical bird of the world of Buddhistic sagas, which is in the service of the gods of terror. It constantly fights against the hostile Nagas (snake gods). In pictures it is represented as a creature with a human body and with wings, human arms, a half human head with horns and a beak, bird's legs and a bird's tail. Often the Garuda has a snake in both hands and bites into it with its beak.

Sits on the first branch,
Without the nest
Or the gold egg breaking,
Or the bird being frightened.
Bring that branch to us!
Beat us with that twig!
Strike us with that wood!
Hit with this stick
And knock our hats in with it,

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You will never rue it.
/87/ If you injure our body
You will never rue it.
If the ear turquoise breaks
You will never pay for it.
If the saddle cloth tears
You will never pay for it.
On the second branch
King of the birds is enthroned (79).

79. Tibetan bya-rgyal rgod-po.

His turquoise egg
And his nest you must spare!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring that branch!
Beat us with that wood!
Strike us with that stick!
Even if you do knock in
Our hats with that one
You will never rue it.
If the body is injured,
You will never regret it.
If the ear turquoise is broken
You will never regret it.
If the saddle cloth is torn,
You will never regret it.
On the third branch
Sits eagle White-head (80).

80. Tibetan go-bo glad dkar; the form ldad dkar in Francke's manuscript I consider to be a slip of the pen; it would not make any sense here; ldad-pa, meaning "to chew," does not fit into the context; on the other hand, glad, meaning "head," fits into it very well.

Do not harm his nest
Or his mother-of-pearl egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring that wood to us!

●585 Beat us with that rod!
533 Hit us with that wood!
539 Strike with this stick
So that you knock our hat in,
And you will never rue it.
If the body is injured.
You will never rue it.
If the earring is broken
/88/ You will never rue it.
If the saddle cloth is torn
You will never rue it.
On the fourth branch
Eagle White-neck (81) perches.

81. Tibetan glag-mo mk'al-dkar; the form in Francke's manuscript must likewise be a slip of the pen; mk'al-ma means "kidney" and does not fit into the context; I am substituting for mk'al the word mgul which means "neck" and thus I arrive at the translation "eagle White-neck."

Do not harm his nest
Nor his silver egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring that wood to us!
Beat us with that club!
Hit us with that wood!
Strike with this stick
And knock our hat in,
And you will never rue it, and so on.
On the fifth branch
Perches the bird of the gods (82).

82. Lha-bya gon-mo I translate by "bird of the gods" (female).

Do not harm his nest
Nor his coral egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring us this wood!
Beat us with that staff! and so on.
On the sixth branch

Perches White Falcon.
Do not harm his nest
Nor his iron egg!
Do not frighten the bird!
Bring us this wood!
Beat us with that rod! and so on.

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After a few more alternate songs in this style there follow a few more riddles in verse. The people of the Chirpon house say: "Oh, you, who have come hither in order to have the truth of words tested!"

Say, who seizes the wild yak by its horn?
Say, whose fist grasps the wild tiger?
Say, who might catch water with snares?
Say, who builds a castle out of loose sand?
/89/ Who wounds the water by a blow of his sword?
Tell us, which bird brings forth young?
Tell us, which animal of prey lays eggs?
Who follows the trace of the pair of rock-partridges
(83) on the mountain?

83. Gon-sreg, the rock-partridge, "Haldenhuhn" (tetraogallus tibetanus). /I have been unable to find an English equivalent for for this word but assume it to be synonymous with the preceding Berghuhn and Felsenhuhn, Steinhuhn, etc. --translator./. Francke's translation here reads: "Name two rock-partridges whose traces lose themselves in the mountains"; but rjes gcod-pa means "to follow a trace" and I translate it accordingly.

Who sends the many-colored splendor to the North's
grey mist? (84)

84. Francke's translation reads here: "Who orders the giant burden of the many-colored reed in the North?" I have arrived at a divergent translation, to which the answer, the solution to the riddle fits.

Say, who sews the mantle for the slate mountain?
Which bird has teeth growing to its pair of wings?
Say, to whom are we giving these riddles, who solves
them?

585 The Nyaopas answer:
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The wild yak's horn is forced
By the hero Mogchen rem-pa (85).

[773] 85. rMog-ĉen rem-pa, meaning "great, strong helmet." This, like the names in verses 2 and 3, are the names of mythical heroes of pre-history.

The hero A-p'o bstan-yan (86)

86. Ap'o bstan-yan. Ap'o means "father" in the dialect of Baltistan and Lower Ladakh; these heroes are designated by this title.

Seizes the tiger with his fist.
Only Jaksha źon-t'og (87)

87. Yag-śa źon t'og in Tibetan.

Catches water with a sling.
Only the swallow bird
Builds a castle out of loose sand.
Only the water itself (88)

88. Here probably the waterfall is meant.

Wounds the water with swords.
A bird that gives birth to young
Is the bat (89).

[825] 89. It should not surprise us that the bat is counted among the birds by the Tibetans when we consider that in German medieval books of natural history the bat was classified in the same species.

An animal of prey which lays eggs
Is the quick weasel (90).

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90. The assertion that the weasel lays eggs is to be explained

from the fact that this evil robber of nests is often seen with an egg in its mouth, which led to the erroneous conclusion. 585 533 539

And the "rock-partridge's trace" which runs along the mountains there: [825]
They are veins in the rock (91).

91. Quartz vein in the slate cliff.

The crystal mistress who rules over a thousand colors the pale North
Is Bruguma (92)

92. aBru-gu-ma, the wife of the mythical king Kesar. The "colors of the North" seem to indicate the northern lights. [773]

The mantle for the large slate mountain
Is probably sewn by Vishvakarma, the heavenly smith (93).

93. The Hephaistos (Vulcan) of Hindu and Buddhist mythology is meant by this "heavenly smith."

Teeth in addition to its pair of wings
Has the bat in its mouth.
You people who are giving riddles and demanding a solution!
It will be necessary to take something away from you.

Chorus: Good, you mighty friends!
Om, hail to you!

/90/ After further examining questions in the form of a song there finally comes the following song as the concluding one, which is sung alternately:

The people of the Chirpon house are still singing with the gate locked:

Many a one is distinguished through his wisdom,
Many a one is so only by his birth
There are many who know nothing.

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Therefore it's important to test for oneself.
Where distinguished parentage is paired
With much wisdom, there it's good.
A high-born person needs nine-fold wisdom,
A low-born person--ninefold wisdom.
Do you come as friends from a noble tribe?
Are you only striving for the money-bag?
If you came as noble ones, you came as friends.
If you came as mean ones, you came for the sake of grain.
Did you come without force? Do you want to make friends?
There are three kinds of enemies,
Three kinds of friends.
Enumerate them, the three!

Chorus: Right!

The Nyaopas answer singing:

Three kinds of enemies there are:
The enemy who wishes sickness upon you,
The enemy full of jeolousy,
The enemy who avenges himself with blood.--
We come not as enemies,
We are friends to you.
Three kinds of friends there are:
God, the helper-friend (94),

94. Tibetan dkon-mčog skyabs-kyi gnyen.

The bond of love between parents,
Blood relationship.
These the three kinds.

Chorus: So it is good.

585 With this song, the nineteenth of the whole series (of which we here are only giving a few samples), the scene in front of the bride's house is ended (95). The bride's relatives and the tribe have been /91/

95. Sometimes there are further obstacles to be overcome by

the Nyaopas. Thus there may have been groups of primitive altars erected in the courtyard, three, six, nine or more. Of these each group has a mythological significance which must be guessed by the Nyaopas. Once this has been done the Nyaopas may destroy the group concerned, until all these "altars" have been destroyed. 585

satisfied by the answers to their questions; now the gate is opened, the people from Kalatse enter the yard preceded by the Nyaopas and march towards the house door. There the female relatives, friends and bridesmaids are expecting the Nyaopas. They pretend to be angry and hit the "bride robbers" (96) over the back with osier switches. A few

96. This entire game, the beating of the Nyaopas as "robbers of the bride," the destruction of the altars in the yard, is a reminder of the fact that the stealing of the bride and the fighting for her, was formerly the universally customary form of obtaining the bride among the Tibetans as well as among other Mongolian and Aryan races (so it was among the Romans, Greeks and Germans). Among many of these peoples mock battles for the bride are still staged today before the wedding; they point to the bloody fights of former times, as, e.g., among the Semitic Bedouins in Iraq, in Egypt, and in India. Among the Russians there are also to be found customs which reflect the practice of stealing the bride, like driving the bride through the fire in a troika. In later times the somewhat milder practice of purchasing the bride took the place of the abduction of the bride. Even today it still happens in Tibet that the bride is "abducted" by her suitor. But this abduction (bag-ma rku-ba) is nowadays usually a completely bloodless undertaking, being often a preconcerted game between the two heads of families concerned, who want to bring the marriage about in the simplest and cheapest manner possible. Twice I have witnessed such a "bride abduction." In such a case the entire ceremonial and the expensive celebrations are omitted. [583]

rupees which the sNatridpa hand out to the fair ones, allay their assumed anger and now the Nyaopas may enter the house with the closest relatives. The company goes through the dark stable and ascends the stone steps into the large living room-kitchen. There, at the door, three people again block their way: the (hired) cook (gsol-dpon) with a pot of tea in his hand, his female assistant (zan-ma) with a plate of rice, and the female beer brewer (ĉan-ma) with a filled brass beer jug. By paying a tribute of half a rupee to each the sNatridpa finally buys an entry into the living room-kitchen for the entire company of Kalatse relatives and friends.

Uncle Stobsldan now has someone give him a large, tin-plated copper plate while the others stand around engaged in lively conversation. On this plate he puts a few handfuls of barley grains and around the edge he puts in a circle the 50 žo (240 rupees), the stipulated "price of the mother milk," and further 20 rupees as a contribution to the first wedding celebration. On top of this the men from Kalatse carry in several rolls of Tibetan cloth, a large quantity of greeting cloths, two sacks of wheat, two sacks of barley. Everything is put down on or next to the hearth.

The relatives of the bridegroom then greet the bride's parents ceremoniously by bowing deeply before them, touching their own foreheads with the tips of their fingers: "žu, žu! Please accept these little gifts graciously, which we poor people presume to offer the noble parents of the bride." With these words Stobsldan, in the name of Lobsang Wanggyal, hands over the gifts and the purchasing price of the bride. Norbu Wangchug acknowledges them briefly with the words: "Thank you, thank you, noble people! It is gracious (of you)!" and now invites the Dragshos people and their tribe to go to the place of celebration, a large field terrace from which the snow has been carefully shovelled and swept away. Frankincense is always carried ahead /92/ and finally it is set up on the terrace in front of the open tent that has been put up there, to supply a "sweet savor" to men and gods. Inside the tent beautiful yarkand carpets are spread out for the guests of superior rank, and at both ends, in the shape of a horseshoe closed towards the outside, ordinary goat and yak hair blankets are laid out for the more lowly guests. Norbu Wangchug shows his guests to their places with politeness but nevertheless with a certain condescension. At the top the galon from Leh, next to him the lonpo from Domkhar, then two lamas from the bride's circle of relatives, the bridegroom, his father and his two uncles, the five Nyaopas, then Norbu Wangchug, the bride's father and a few of his brothers-in-law, the magistrates of Teya-Tingmogang and of Domkhar, and further the members of both tribes ranged according to rank and dignity, neighbors and friends;

most of them have to sit outside the tent on carpets. 585 •

In front of each guest there stands a small, low table with colorfully painted carvings. Every guest, after he has sat down with his legs crossed under him, places his own wooden drinking bowl on the little table (with the richer men the little drinking bowl is lined with silver on the inside). The village magistrates with their assistants distribute the flat bread cakes, the number depending upon the rank and standing--seven, five, three, starting with the persons of high rank, and so on down to the guests of lower standing. The latter soon begin to shove, push, and fight for the flat bread cakes, to the amusement of the rich and the satisfied. Now women pour out butter tea from beautiful copper and brass tea pots richly furnished with ornaments embossed in silver. When the guests have refreshed themselves for a while with tea, flat bread cakes, and roasted barley flour, there follows the warm meal after a short time: rice with mutton and vegetables cooked in a strong spice sauce. Each guest receives a heaped-up plateful of this food. For the most distinguished guests the choicest pieces of meat are picked out of the large meat dish. With it chang is served which the guests consume in great quantities; the pungent spice sauce creates a great thirst. Each of the distinguished guests now also has his greeting cloth placed on the table in front of him; he attaches it with a needle to his cap if there is room there; whatever there is no room for is fastened to the left shoulder.

/93/ All the guests were now able to eat their fill of the plentiful meal, only the places of the five Nyaopas were still empty. 585 782 Soon after entering the house they had mounted up to the flat roof of the house, led by the sNatridpa, in order to present to the five lamas there the greeting cloths and the gift of a sum of money. The lamas had been there, in front of the small opened house temple, since early morning, engaged in reading mass, saying prayers and formulas for the well-being and good fortune of the betrothed pair. The lamas scarcely took any notice of the Nyaopas; firmly they went on saying their prayers, made food and incense sacrifices in order to call down the blessing of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and tutelary gods upon them. But it was also necessary to allay the anger of the gods and the demons through offerings, formulas of exorcism, magical gestures, swinging of the thunderbolt and of the magic bell, through the music of the drums and the trumpets. In this way all the misfortune that the old devil-tamer had figured out and predicted was to be averted.

The Nyaopas had to wait for quite a while until they could

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hand over their gifts. Attentively they watched the activities of the monks clothed in red. Then these interrupted their prayers and formulas, put their hands into the dishes that stood next to them, and scattered barley and rice across the flat roof and over its edge as a food offering to the gods. Crows, magpies, and sparrows came by and picked up the grains. The lamas also threw, amid the mumbling of formulas of exorcism, pyramid-shaped offering cakes (gtor-ma) mixed out of bread dough and butter and decorated with colored ornaments, in a wide arc over the edge of the roof. The red Tsan-demons were invoked and entreated to be satisfied with the offering and to leave the young couple in peace. The offering was soon consumed by dogs and birds. Then a drink offering (gser-skyems) was brought to the gods: beer was poured into a dish from a copper sacrificial tankard and was then sprinkled about in a high arc. Finally the wily household god with the pig's head was still to be appeased and to be exorcized by a food and incense offering and by an exorcizing formula. The conclusion was formed by a concert of all the instruments. From two powerful copper trumpets three meters long, blown by two corpulent lamas and held up in the air by their bell mouths by two monastery students /94/, there came forth deep, ill-sounding tones which swung across the wide valley and, breaking on the opposite rock face, sounded back in a seven-fold echo. With this there mingled the song from the lamas' throats, rough from the beer; now the big drum joined in as well as the cymbals and the trumpets, so that everything fused into a wild music which sounded like the howling of the storm and the roaring of the avalanche.

Old Dud-joms (the devil-tamer) later told the attentively listening farmers at a beer-drinking occasion that the house god with the pig's head had fled with a loud howl at the thunderous roar of the instruments; he had, so said the devil-tamer, heard it himself quite clearly; and then the frightened god had stayed for a whole month in the caves of the Skyinling gorge where his marrow-piercing screams had been heard every night. It was not till they had brought him new food and drink offerings that the lamas were able to persuade the god to return to the house where he could not be dispensed with as a protector after all.

Finally the instruments and the lamas' throats were silent, while the latter were moistened by an ample infusion of chang. The piles of leaves with the dreadful exorcizing formulas were pushed aside. The Nyaopas stepped forth and placed thirteen greeting cloths before each lama, one of yellow silk, the others of light, gauze-like cotton weave; next to these they put three rupees for each one of them except the head lama who received five. They did not even glance at the greeting cloths; but every one of the "holy men" immediately reached for the silver coins and tested them for their genuineness. The lamas are usually good business people. 585 782

Now the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons in the house temple received their part of the wedding offering. According to their rank, each one of the mighty had a number of greeting cloths placed at its feet; offering lamps of brass fuelled with butter, dishes of rice, barley, and beer were placed on the altar in front of the statues. Gautama Buddha, the Great Compassionate Chanrezigs, and the kind Tara, the giver of marital happiness and of the mother's joys were honored by gifts of silk cloths; the other gods and the demons had to be contented with light muslin strips.

/95/ After the priests up above have received their share, the Nyaopas descend to the terrace where the feasting and the drinking are going on in full swing. Between the rows of guests three enormous wedding cakes (97) have been erected of tiles which are made of barley flour dough mixed with butter and sugar. Next to them stand five huge filled earthen beer jugs. To the sound of three clarinets, one lute, and three kettle drums the Nyaopas now conduct a dance around the cakes and the beer jugs. The musicians here are Bedas (see note 12)). The tune and the rhythm of the music sounds strange to our ears, more like a deafening noise that anything else. But this music drives the Tibetan dancers on, as the most beautiful march or waltz does the German youth. The rhythmical movements, first a slow walk and rocking of the hips, gradually goes over into a livelier tempo, a dance which becomes constantly more rapid and livelier, and which finally turns into wild jumping and hopping. While the legs march and spring to the beat of the music the arms and hands, which hold a long sash, are in constant rocking motion. Some men arise from the row of guests, stand by the dancers, beat out the rhythm with their hands, and by shouts incite the dancers to ever wilder movements which assume more and more the expression of wild abandonment. 585 585 535

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97. aBran-rgyas, literally "offering cake, food offering"; but of this cake only one "tile" is offered to the gods, the rest is consumed by the participants of the feast.

● 585 533 539 Now the music is silent. The dance is at an end. The Nyaopas go towards the tent. But still they may not give themselves over to rest and enjoyment. The relatives of the bride go toward them and again a question and answer game in the form of a song starts up. The Nyaopas must pass another test before they may take their places in the row of guests. The people from the Chirpon house sing the Song of the Carpets (98).

98. From Ladakhi Songs by A. H. Francke, Leh, 1899. The translation of this song into German was done by the author of the present work.

Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high heavens be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high glacier be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the high boulder be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
/96/ Might the high mountain lake be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might that high castle be.
Whose carpet, tell me truly,
Might the wide earth be.
Who uses as carpet in this land
A saddle cloth with a blue edge?
Who for a carpet likes to use, you must tell me,
The wild sheep's brown fur?
Whom serves as carpet, tell me quick,
The meadow green and the forest thick?
Whose is that carpet? Whom do you think
This roll of cloth must serve?

The Nyaopas answer:

The high heavens so blue and clear
Must be the sun's (99) carpet and the moon's.

821 99. According to the astronomy of the Indians, Tibetans as well as of the Assyrians and Babylonians, sun and moon are

counted among the planets, and they are considered animate 821
divine beings which have an influence upon the fates of human beings and are worshipped as gods.

The glacier above is a carpet, I ween, 585•
For the lion with the turquoise-colored mane. 533
The high rocks carpet are 539
For the large ibex quick as the wind.
The mountain lake blue as carpet may suffice
For the wife of the fish with the golden eyes.
The castle so high, so proud and so fine
Must the nobleman's carpet be.
The great earth's mighty spaces
Signify the Chinese Emperor's carpet.
In the saddle cloth with the blue edge
Agu Palle (100) his carpet found.

100. A-gu p'al-le, one of the 13 heroes of the Tibetan Kesar myth. [773]

The brown fur of the wild sheep must be
Agu Khru btungs' (101) carpet, I suppose.

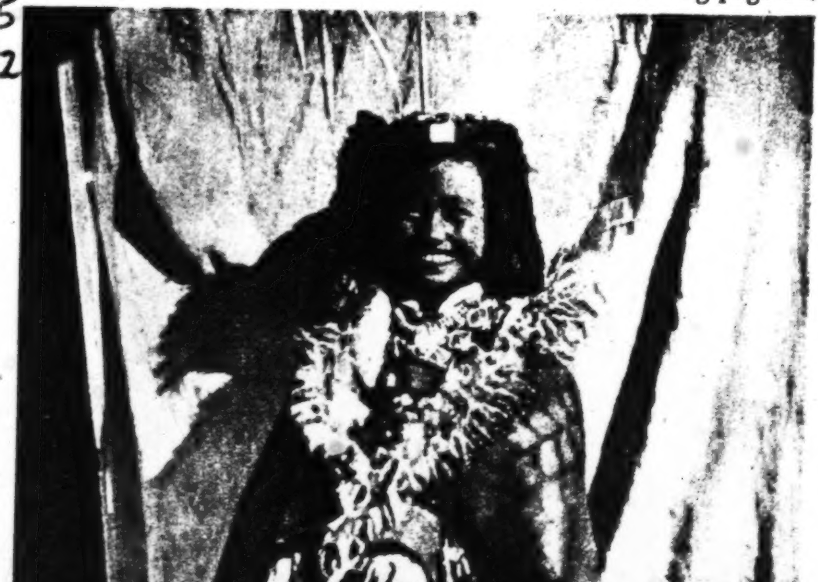
101. A-gu k'ru btuñs, another of these heroes who has the head of a falcon.

The meadows and woods must be
A carpet for birds large and small
This roll of cloth here? A carpet fine
For the seven (102) Nyaopa brothers it must be.

102. Seven Nyaopas may be active at a very large wedding.

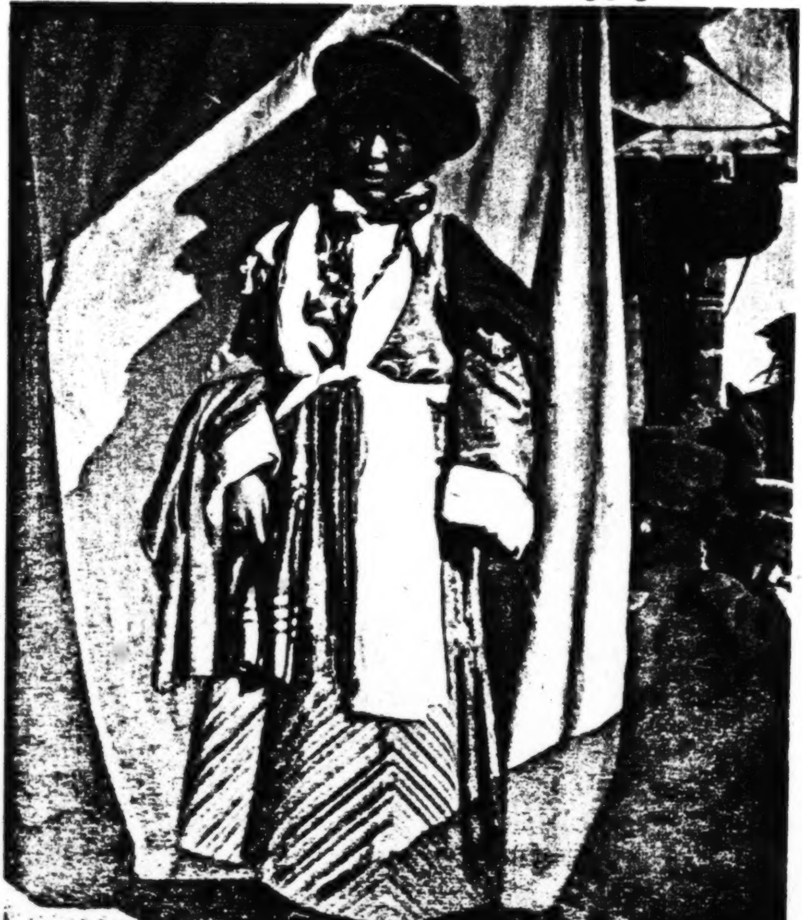
The Chirpon people call out loud: "Good, you noble friends! 585
Now take your place and drink a little bowl of beer!" Finally /Following p. 96 there are two full-page illustrations, one of a "Tibetan bride (without her bridal hat)"; the other of a "Bridegroom in Ladakh."/ /97/ the five "Nyaopa brothers" sit down on the carpet in the places appointed for them near the tent entrance, and then they are served with ample food and drink.

/Following page 96/



Tibetan bride (without her bridal hat)

/Following page 96/



Bridegroom in Ladakh.

585 Late into the afternoon everybody gives himself over to the enjoyment of what is served. A moment which everyone awaits with tense anticipation is that when the large wedding cake (abran-rgyas) is taken apart. Two men from the tribe of the Chirpon see to this matter. The first "tile" is thrown in a wide arc over the heads of the bystanders, as an offering to the gods. The dogs and crows who have long been waiting for this moment again receive the offering greedily. Then the tsampa tiles are distributed among the guests and those that may be left over are handed out to the poor who have come to the wedding in great numbers. At this occasion fighting again takes place.

[562] The beer is eagerly consumed by the men. Ceaselessly women go through the rows and pour beer into the drinking bowls before they are quite emptied. The women have no time to sit down with the men and to feast and amuse themselves with them. Nor is this customary. It is their duty to wait upon the men. Lady Deskyid, the mother of the bride, supervises the cooking and distribution of the food and the drinks in the chansa above and in the courtyard below. The women of the circle of relatives and of the clan look after the serving and the many matters that must be attended to at such a large wedding. In between they may occasionally find a few minutes to spare for eating mouthfuls, drinking a bowl of tea and above all for prattling. [273] A few women armed with osier switches go around between the drinking men, and whenever they find that a man is not drinking a proper amount of beer they give him a few blows on his back amid joking words. This is the drinking enforcement (nan-ĉaṅ). Moderate drinking is considered detrimental to the happiness of the betrothed couple.

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539 In between, individual men sing songs. Thus a young man from Kalatse first sang the song of the "secret love"; it was said that secretly he had been in love with the daughter of the Chirpon.

/98/ Up yonder on the green slope
There blooms a lovely little flower.
Listen, you boy!
It blooms forth beautifully.
Listen, you boy!
Pick the little flower,
Oh you boy!
Pick the lovely one and guard it well!

Not with your hand, lest it wither! 585
Oh, with your soul you must pick it well! 533
Into your heart you must lock it. 539

There now follows a series of songs about the origin of the reed (103) from which the lucky arrow (mda-dar) of the sNatridpa is made. Again they are alternate songs.

The people of the Chirpon house sing:

Where may the first reed have grown?
And where did the second reed grow?
Say, where did the third reed grow?

The people from Kalatse answer:

First reed grew in China,
Second reed grew in Tibet,
Third reed grew in India;

The Chirpon people:

Good!

The same: How the first knot (of the reed) grew, who saw it?
How the second knot did grow, who saw it?
How the thrid knot did grow, who saw it?

The Dragshos people answer:

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103. Here, one after the other, the things that play a part at the wedding, are celebrated in song: the carpet, the arrow that brings luck, the beer, and the like. These songs are taken from the manuscript collection Trinklieder mit den fünf Blumen /Drinking songs with the five flowers/. (me-tog lha-ldan-gyi can-glu), collected by Prof. Dr. A.H. Francke. Their translation into German was done by the author of the present work.

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[772]

Gods (104) saw the first knot's growth,

104. The reed of the magic arrow grew "through three realms"; these are the three realms of ancient Tibetan cosmology: the realm of the gods, the realm of human beings and that of the nymphs /or, sprites/ (nagas), the latter being under the earth.

Gods high and mighty saw it being formed.
Nymphs saw the second knot's growth,
Nymph Nor-dsom-mo, she saw it.
Men saw the third knot's growth,
Men of clever mind saw it come into being.

/99/ The Chirpon people:

Good!

The same: Say: what is the reed's father's name (105)?

[774] 105. This discussion here concerns the father, mother and child of the reed. Buddhists, as well as Hindus, consider all things of nature as beings with souls, in that all possess something of the substance of the world soul (the Brahma).

Reed's mother's name--what might it be?
And the reed itself--what is it called?

The men from Kalatse (Dragshos people) answer:

Reed's father's name is "Great Reed" (rgya-smyug),
And its mother's name is--spindle reed (106) (p'añ-smyug),

[831] 106. The spindle is considered the symbol of the female, the arrow as that of the male sex. Compare the use of the "spear of Mars" to designate the male, and of the "apple of Aphrodite" to designate the female sex in Occidental scholarship.

And its own name is--arrow reed (md'a-msyug).

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Chorus of bystanders:

Good!

The Chirpon people sing:

Did the reed grow out of rock? In the meadow?
Did it grow amid the boulder rubble? In the mud?

The Dragshos people:

Not on rocks grew the reed,
Nor meadow brought it forth,
Nor did it grow amid the rubble,
Gold with glowing brought it forth.

Now there follows a series of songs in which are elaborately described the finding of the reed, its transportation, the making and effect of the lucky arrow. We only give the latter:

The Chirpon people sing: (107)

107. Number 11 of the Trinklieder /Drinking Songs/

When the arrow to the high heaven flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high rock flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high mountain pasture flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high mountain lake flew,
What news may you have of that?
When the arrow to the high mountain forest flew,
What news may you have of that?

/100/ The Dragshos people:

When the arrow to the high heaven flew,
It brought the wings of the king of the birds.
When the arrow to the high cliff flew,

It brought the ibex' muscle fibres (108).

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108. Here I translate "Muscle fibres from the shoulder blade of the great ibex and of the old cow"; Tibetan: "skyin-ĉen ba-rgan-gyi sogs-rgyus k'yoṅs"; "sogs" seems to me to be the more correct form since "gsogs" does not make any sense here and is probably a mistake which slipped in during the dictation. Prof. Francke translated the sentence: "The arrow brought something of the treasures of the old, great female ibex down with it."

When the arrow to the high mountain pasture flew,
It brought muscle meat of the wild yak bull.
When the arrow to the high mountain lake flew,
It brought glue from the little fish Khyu-ru.
When the arrow to the high mountain forest flew,
It brought the tiger's muscle fibres.

Now, after a few other songs, there follows one in which the female beer brewer (ĉan-ma), who has brewed the beer for the guests, is made fun of (109).

109. Number 15 of the Trinklieder /Drinking Songs/.

The people from Kalatse sing:

Old brewer woman, your beer tastes strange!
You old brewer woman! What an evil brew!
It tastes like the singed wings of the king of the birds,
It tastes like the singed horn of the wild yak bull,
It tastes like the singed veins of the vain peacock,
It tastes like the singed scales of the little fish
Rhyuru,
It tastes like the singed nails of a wicked wench;
I taste, old woman, five of the vile things.
Away with this beer! Away, we won't drink it!

The Chirpon people and the inhabitants of Tingmogang answer:

Without cause you scorn the old woman's beer.

The power of the white lioness' heart is in it. 585
Her gall is mixed with it; 533
Sparrow's quarrelsomeness is also in it, 539
And some of its gall is also mixed with it.
See, hence comes the drinkers' desire for quarrel.
See also the sheep's stupidity in it,
For sheep's gall is also mixed with it.
Does your dullness not come from that?
If a noble person gifted with good sense
/101/ And of high rank should come--we should invite him to the chang.
The Nyaopa brothers, too, the seven (110), we invite.

110. Compare not 102.

To a weakling we serve no beer.
If a noble person drinks it, it turns into life's elixir (111).

111. The life's elixir, really devil's elixir (Tibetan bdud-rtsi; [789] Sanskrit amrita) plays an important part in the magical literature (Tantra) and in popular belief. Gods and men fight for this precious material which confers immortality, or at least a long life and magical powers.

To the mean person it only works as a stupefier.

The people:

"Good, you noble gentlemen!"

Again the people from Kalatse sing:

Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up to the sky!
If the sky takes it, we shall drink the beer.
Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up the rocks!
If it runs up the rock, we shall drink the beer.
Such beer is not for us. Scatter it up to the glacier!
If a piece of ice so much as the size of a mirror (112) should melt, we'll drink.

112. A small, round metal hand mirror, the size of a serving

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plate.

Such beer one does not drink. Scatter it to the earth only!
If a picture (113) should arise, we would drink the beer.

[787]

113. A figure which is formed on the ground by the beer that has been poured out, by means of which one is supposed to foretell the future.

Such beer one does not drink. Just pour it into the water!
If a tress is braided there (114), we shall drink beer.

114. This refers to the ruffling of the surface of the water when something is poured on to it.

The Chirpon people answer:

Who in the sky takes the beer except sun and moon?
Sun and moon, those two you certainly do not resemble.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Who runs up the cliff? The old she-ibex it is (115),

115. The she-ibex /Steinziege/--the female of the ibex /Steinbock/ (Capra sibirica).

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
The size of a mirror a spot melted through sun and moon,
Do not worry! You do not resemble them.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Pictures on the earth are drawn by the black yak (116).

116. The yak's track on the earth is meant.

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Little fish Golden Eye alone braids tresses in the water (117).

117. The ruffled course of the fish that swims at the surface of the water.

> Do not worry! For you do not resemble it. 585
> Waste no words! Offer a draught! 533
> Perfect is the beer that the old woman brews! [539]

/102/ In this way hour after hour passes amid singing, teasing, feasting, and imbibing; the throats of the singers become rough and hoarse. Loud, animated chattering of those heated by the beer intermingles with the singing, and in between there is the giggling and sudden screaming of the girls when the young fellows have indulged in a crude joke with them.

But where is the bridal couple, for whose sake all these people 585 were celebrating after all, during all this time? Occasionally the bridegroom would sit between his father and his uncle in the row of guests, but then he would disappear again. He evidently felt uncomfortable in this atmosphere. The bride remains entirely invisible to the guests. From early morning on she is on her way, accompanied by her girl friends (adza-mo) and companions (ya-do), making farewell visits in the houses of relatives and friends. Everywhere she is entertained and honored. At the moment she is not concerned about the bridegroom and the celebration in the house of her parents. This is not demanded by custom. Not till afternoon does she return, with her female companions, to the house of her parents unnoticed by the guests outside.

And now there begins for her one of the main tasks of the day: 585
the bridesmaids and the girl friends set about dressing and decking out 302
the bride for her wedding. Her ten braids are loosened, her black hair is washed, the girl friends braid the tresses anew and her hair is greased with butter so that it shines. Then the blinker-like dsarus covered with 585
otter's fur are sewn into her tresses sideways; and finally the main ornament, the great perag, the turquoise ornament, is placed on her head 301
and fastened to her hair. This perag (118) is a wide stiff band, made of several strips of cotton material which are glued on top of one another.

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118. The perag is considered a symbol of the snake which [825
has been worshipped by the Tibetans, as well as by other Asiatic peoples, as divine, from time immemorial. In pictures the snake virgins (klui bu-mo; Sanskrit nagi, the nymphs of ancient Germanic saga) are represented as beautiful girls above whose heads tower snakes. The shape of the perag is reminiscent of those snakes while the coral band next to it reminds one of their scaly tails.

585 301 The whole thing is covered with red material. The perag begins above the forehead, where it is about three fingers wide, runs over the crown and back of the head, where it widens--with rich girls and women it becomes up to two hands wide. Then it goes down the back to the area of the hips, where it becomes narrower. The perag is covered with bright green turquoises which are attached in dense rows. Chosskyid's perag was a masterpiece of its kind; the rich Norbu had done his best /103/ in order that his only daughter should be distinguished from all the girls in Lower Ladakh by the size of her perag and the beauty of the stones. Nine rows of great stones were counted at the widest part of the perag, four to six rows, at the ends. Above her forehead between the turquoises were attached beautifully worked, silver amulet capsules guilded on top and covered with cornelians, rubies, and other, semi-precious stones. A second wide band covered with corals ran from her left shoulder along the perag to the end of the latter. A necklace of silver and corals decorated her neck, and furthermore there were silver pendants attached at the sides of the perag as well as to the left shoulder; large silver earrings hung on both sides almost down to her shoulders.

585 302 The ten tresses are doubled in their natural length by black wool that is braided in with them. Up till now it had been light gray wool, which is the symbol of virginity; from now on black characterizes the woman. All the tresses come together around the calves of the legs. Here, at the end, a bundle of nine tassels is fastened, which reaches down to the ground.

585 292 301 Instead of the everyday dress made of red-colored Tibetan cloth, the dsamos clothe the bride today in a dress of good, blue European material, which the father has bought at the bazaar in Leh. The long dress, which extends down to the feet, is held together at the hips by colored sashes three meters long. The white handkerchief--essentially an ornament--is tied inside this sash and a pendant (do-len) made of shells, little pincases and all kinds of brass ornaments are attached to it on the left hand side. A beautiful shawl from Kashmir, worked in many different colors, which is fastened to the right shoulder with a brooch, is wound around the upper part of the body. The wrists are decorated with thick white rings which are made of large Indian snail-shells, as well as with silver bracelets which are in the form of snakes. The feet are shod with dainty Indian pointed shoes.

585 The dressing and ornamenting of the bride was a complicated and time-consuming affair to which the bridesmaids devoted themselves with zest. The matter proceeded amid endless talking, joking and laughing /104/, and when it was finally completed and everything had

met with the approval of the critical mother and the aunts, it had become late afternoon and way past the time when the sun had gone down behind the mountains. The old devil-tamer had calculated that the "ape hour" (119) (around four o'clock in the afternoon) would be the appropriate hour for the departure of the bride from her parents' house.

The Kalatse people now urged that everyone leave. The Nyaopas, still led by the sNatridpa, went to old Norbu Wangchug with the soothsayer's document in which the latter's directions were written down, and asked him to hand over the bride. The bride's mother went into the house with them to the door of the room in which the bride had been dressed. When they knocked at the bolted door a few girls came out and declared amid laughter that the bride had not yet finished dressing, that the perag was not yet fastened and that her ornaments had not yet been put on, and so forth. When, after a while, the Nyaopas, came back, the girls declared that the bride had run away from them, and that they were unable to find her. Thereupon the sNatridpa put three rupees in the first bridesmaid's hand and said: "All right, all right, I know! Just hurry up and get ready and bring out the bride; the days are short, the sun has already gone down, soon it will be dark and we have a long way to go before we are home." But still the bride did not appear. The people from Kalatse became impatient, the Nyaopas pounded on the door with their fists, which was answered by the girls with loud laughter. One of the girls came out and said that the shawl was still missing and that they were unable to find it. The father Norbu Wangchug went into the chamber, brought out a coral necklace belonging to his daughter, and gave it to Sodnam Wanggyal saying, "Here you have a pledge for the time being; just don't be angry little brother, the nomo ('younger sister,' here the bride) (120) will be right out. She is drinking a bowl of tea. Just be patient for a little while longer, you gentlemen!"

It was another good half hour until the bride finally appeared, festively dressed, hung with ornaments, an attractive appearance. The

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119. Tibetan nyi-yur-spre, literally, the "sun's going-to-sleep--ape," that is, "ape hour," in which the sun prepares itself for "going to sleep." [305]

120. Compare note 38.

585 girl had a good figure, something which the wide, billowing dress
could not conceal; her facial traits were regular /105/, the Mongolian
elements in them were just barely suggested. The moment that the
bride left the room in which she was dressed the sNatridpa stepped up
to her, followed by the Trashispa and the other Nyaopas. The former
held the bridal hat (źwa-mo) in his hand, a large felt hat trimmed
with otter fur (sram). The sNatridpa put this hat on the bride's head
and attached a long wishing band (k'a-btags) which in three places
was tied into bows, along the edge of the hat. Now he led the bride
by the hand into the chansa where in the meantime the relatives and
the clan of the bride and the bridegroom had gathered. There a
789 beautiful yarkand carpet was spread out in front of the stove. On this
carpet a lâma had made a magical circle of good fortune (dga-dkyil)
in the form of a rosette, from barley grains. Chosskyid (the bride)
was now supposed to sit down on this circle. In front of her on a small
table were placed bowls full of tea, beer, and rice: the farewell meal
in the house of her parents. The power of the magical circle on which
she was sitting was to have the effect that in her new home she would
not lack in any of these good things. The bride had to consume a
little bit of all these things.

Thereupon two uncles of the bride stepped into the middle of
the room and stretched (as they had already done once at the holchang)
the bridal rope (ras-t'ag, rag-t'ag) diagonally across the room. On
this rope they again hung the clothes and the ornaments belonging to
the bride. The rest of the things of the bride's trousseau were placed
underneath the rope on the floor. Everything was then ceremoniously
presented to the sNatridpa and the two uncles of the bridegroom together
with a list of the objects (zon-yig), with the aid of which the
two uncles carefully checked and counted them to see whether everything
was in order.

585 Now the five lamas come down from the roof, where they have
still been occupied with their ceremonies. They are now to perform the
789 ceremony which is intended to secure the good fortune of the bride and
her relatives, and to break the spell of the hostile demons.. The abbot
of the Lamayuru monastery with four other monks places himself across
from the bride who is sitting on the carpet above the magical circle;
in his right hand the abbot holds the luck-bringing arrow (mda-dar)
decorated with colored ribbons; in his left hand he has the holy water
vessel made of copper (bum-pa), in whose narrow neck /106/ is stuck
a peacock's feather. Now the abbot sprinkles the bride with holy

saffron water from the vessel; then he swings the vessel with the feather 585
several times around above the girl's head. Then he invokes the village 784
and household gods and the demon princes with their vast army, and conjures them with powerful texts not to inflict any harm upon the bride and her family, and not to let good fortune escape with the bride from the parental house. In chorus the lamas murmur their formulas of exorcism, first mumbling dully to themselves, then more and more loudly they swing about the thunderbolt and the magic dagger, the bell, the kettle-drum, and the cymbals which they hold in their hands sound softly at first, then--they swell, growing increasingly loud, to a deafening noise; the lamas call out:

From the East may good fortune come!
From the West may good fortune come!
From the North may good fortune come!
From the South may good fortune come!
Yan-agug! May good fortune come!

"Yan-agug! Yan-agug!" the bystanders join in in shouting. "Yan-agug! Yan-agug!" all of them yell, shout in confusion for two or three minutes. Then everything suddenly becomes still.

Now the lamas lead the bride up to the house temple to take 585
leave from the household gods. Three times the girl prostrates her- 784
self before the statues and images of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods and demons. From that moment on the young woman is no longer permitted to set foot inside the parental household sanctum; from now on she enters into the tutelary and power domain of the gods of her husband's household. The jealousy of the deities of both households must be guarded against.

Then everyone descends to the chansa, and now the bagrogs 585
and dsamo (the bridesmaids and her girl friends) lead the bride so that she may take leave of her parents who, together with the closest relatives, are already expecting her. Bowing down deep, crying loud and sobbing, Chosskyid embraces the legs of her mother, of her father, of her brothers, as well as those of her closest relatives and amid much bowing, at the same time knocking her wrists together so that the shell rings clatter, she calls out: "Farewell! Farewell! Do not forget

/Following page 106 there is a full-page illustration with the caption: "Parting ceremony after the wedding. The lamas implore the gods for good luck on behalf of the bride (with bridal hat). (Tibetan Original

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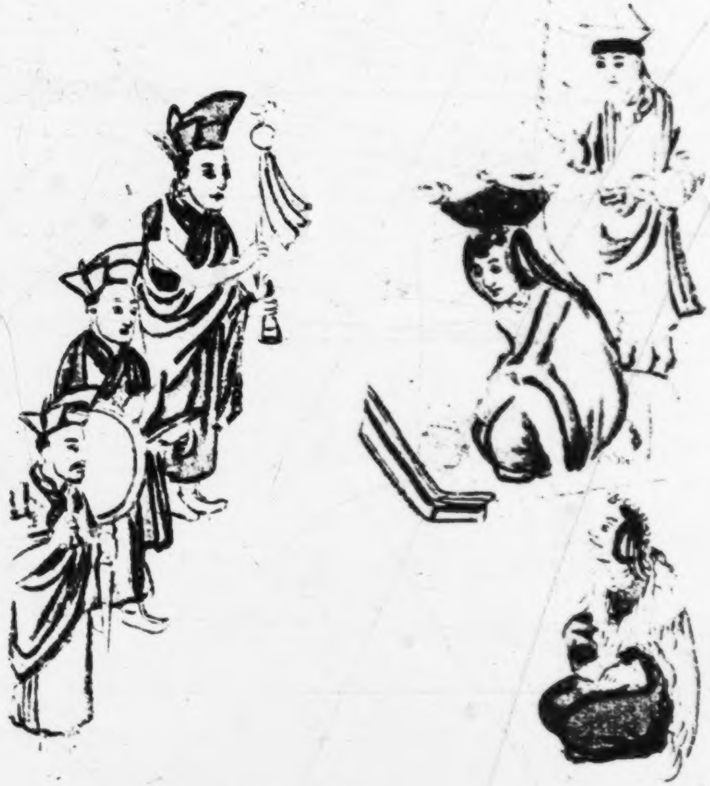
/Following page 106/



Parting ceremony after the wedding. The lamas implore the gods for good luck on behalf of the bride (with bridal hat). (Tibetan Original Drawing).

Drawing). "/ /107/ me! Do not forget me! Father, Mother! Older Brothers! Younger Brothers! All of you! Remember me!" The female part of the gathering joins in the loud crying. Even fat uncle Norpel wipes something moist out of his eyes with his sleeve a few times. This is the "bride crying," the bride sobbing (bag-hus) which is required by custom. And in the case of Chosskyid and her mother the tears were genuine.

Now the relatives and the guests step up to the bride from all sides; each one of them hangs a k'atags on her until she is adorned with about thirty such greeting ribbons. Once again there are embraces, and the grasping of legs of bystanders, bowing, and crying; then the sNatridpa and the Trashispa step forward and both lead the bride by the hand between them up to the stairs. The five Nyaopas together step behind the bride and call out: "Yaśa ho! Yaśa ho! (dear ho!)"-- By this the gods are invoked and are asked to take the bride into their loving protection. All join in loudly, people and instruments. For the first time this day the bridegroom joins his bride. The uncle Ishe Lhundrub, who is still tolerably sober, steps up to them and carries (121) his niece on his back down the stairs, through the stable and the courtyard up to the gate. The bridegroom's two uncles, Stobsldan and Tsang Sodnam, remain upstairs a little longer and thank the bride's father, Norbu Wangchug, for having arranged the wedding so beautifully and and with such costly trappings. They place a katags and five rupees on the edge of the stove and give a katags to each of the bride's relatives. With the greeting: "Trashis punsum tsogspa (bkra-śis p'un-ṣum t'sogs-pa)," meaning "Good luck and ample prosperity!" the two uncles, as well as the Nyaopas, now also go down the stairs and the remaining company follows them. At the gate of the courtyard the neighboring women have gathered, having brought beer in metal jugs, as well as plates with flour, rice, butter and

121 The reason why the bride is *carried* out of the house is, in my opinion, to be seen in the naive conception that in this way the departure from the house can be kept secret from the jealous house and family gods whose anger is to be feared. In China the bride is for similar reasons carried in a sedan-chair from the parental house up to the house of the bridegroom. Her foot is not allowed to touch the ground lest the gods should get onto the track of the escaping bride.

apricots as wedding presents. The sNatridpa quickly touches the gifts with his finger as a sign of gratitude. 585

The people from Kalatse together with the bridal couple now press for the ride back home. The horses, which have long been saddled, are brought to the spot; the horses designated for the bride and groom are equipped with beautiful bridles and have colored Yarkand saddle cloths. All the people from Kalatse, at least insofar as they are still capable after /108/ the strenuous drinking, follow on horse, even if this is a very laborious undertaking for some of the men. The train is headed by the sNatridpa at whose side rides the Trashispa; then follows the bridegroom (bag-po) with one of the Nyaopas, behind him the bride with one of the bridesmaids; then follow the remaining Nyaopas, the relatives and the friends of the bridegroom in pairs. At the next fork in the road a hasty scattered offering is again presented to the devil of the road (lam-bgegs): a few handfuls of barley so that he will not inflict any harm upon the bride who is now leaving her birthplace. Now the train proceeds, amid loud conversations and light-hearted singing, right across the wide valley and over the bridge which arches over the village brook. Here they scatter another offering into the brook for the water gods so that they will let the bride pass unmolested; then they move along the steep path up the precipice to the plateau. The sun has long gone down, dusk lies over the mountain and the plain; the night wind blows and howls from the west over the desert, the mountains and ridges which surround them. The loud talking and the singing of the people returning home is silenced, everyone thinks again of the terrible Tsan and Gongpo (demons) who are especially hostile to wedding processions. The riders, ordinarily plucky men who are used to braving the dangers of the wild mountains, cluster together. Those who were lagging behind rush up hurriedly; fear has seized everyone, heated by the beer the brains paint images of terror before their mind's eye: the wild chase of the Tsan king races through the clouded sky. Many a one feels for his amulets to see if they are still hanging properly around his neck and at his cap. Many a one prays an "Om-ma-ni-pad me hum! " between chattering teeth. Then suddenly the moon rises above the jagged mountain massif yonder in the East and pours its faint light over the mountain waste. Now the hearts of the people are somewhat relieved and in a rapid amble they ride towards their destination.

Finally they reach Kalatse; but the house of the bridegroom 585
may not yet be entered. At a crossing of the paths on the plateau to 789
the side of the village everybody dismounts. First an offering meal

● 585 789 must be presented to the gods and the demons of the bride's new dwelling place, in order to put them into a favorable mood lest they should oppose the new arrival. The abbot who had come along with /109/ four of his monks because he knew that there was still work for him to do, steps up to the crossing of the ways; on a copper plate he holds three little lamps (mĉod-koṅ) in the shape of a chalice made of bread dough. Butter has been put into the hollow at the top, a wick has been put inside the butter, which was then lighted. Now the abbot steps before the bride, holding in his right hand the bronze thunderbolt (dorje) and the magic bell (dril-bu), and in his left hand the plate with the little burning lamps. Three times he swings them slowly in a circle around the head of the bride who is crouching before him and exorcizes the demons with the following words: "None of the male or female 576 Gong (122), none of the male or female Dre, the Tsan, the Dud, none of the 80,000 Gegs devils, none of the 424 kinds of Don with their entire following may ever harm this bride! May they eat their fill from this meal and then each one go to his place!" After this exorcism from the mouth of the abbot, in which the four other lamas join in with deep, rumbling voices, the instruments start up again with a shrill sound. A lama novice relieves the abbot of the three little lamps made of bread dough and flings them among the blocks of stone lying around by the crossing of the paths. Then another lama hands the abbot a clay pot (dza-blug) into which have been put all kinds of shabby remnants of the wedding feast: used tea leaves (ja-ro), brewer's grain (sbaṅ-ma), remains of onions, garlic, radishes, a few bones that have been picked, and a piece of fur from one of the sheep that was consumed. The abbot places himself with the pot in front of a stone block on which a lama had previously drawn the figure of two crossed thunderbolts (rdo-rje rgya-dram), flings the pot with its appetizing content against the stone so that it breaks into pieces and the contents are scattered about. Now the demons may eat their fill from these "delicious" things and then they are to go each to his proper place (123).

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122. The names cited here designate various kinds of demons.

123. This treatment of the demons on the part of the Tibetan lamas is reminiscent, as many of their defensive measures against the dieties are, of the conception of the "stupid devil" which one encountered until recent times also among the

German people. The sly person was able, according to this conception, to outwit and ward off the devil by means of all kinds of tricks. 585 789

During this activity of the lama magicians the bridegroom and the bride stand facing them with their hands folded over their breast and with their heads bent forward. After the exorcism the abbot reads one more prayer to the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and tutelary spirits, asking for happiness and prosperity for the young couple; a prayer to the benign goddess Drolma (Tara) asking for the blessing of offspring. In so doing /110/ he again swings his magical bell and the dorje, as well as a small hand drum made of human skulls. Finally the abbot throws a few handfuls of rice over the bride and bridegroom as a symbol of fertility (124), while the lamas are performing on their instruments.

124. Compare the very similar custom at weddings in England.

Finally the procession moves on to the Dragshos house, the future dwelling place of the young married couple. Led by sNatridpa the bride enters the house followed by the bridesmaids. They pass through the dark stable, up the stone steps, and stand in front of the chansa. There the bride stops in front of the opened door and pretends to cry and to refuse to enter. Not till she has received the gift of one rupee from the sNatridpa, does she consent to enter and her "crying" stops (125). In the chansa the bride now greets the bridegroom's 585

125. This custom is not to be considered as having originated from the desire to exact money; rather it is to be interpreted as a symbolic expression for the fact that only through purchase does the bride enter into the possession of the bridegroom.

parents and relatives who have finally also arrived together with the bridegroom. The bride bows low, embraces their legs, says "žu" and claps together the rings on her wrists. Then she greets with a low bow the hearth at which she is to work in the future: the "sacred hearth," and in it the "royal goddess of the hearth" (t'ab-lha rgyal-mo), under whose protection her activities at the hearth are to be carried out.

Sideways from the hearth along the wall a beautiful Yarkand carpet is laid out. On this carpet a lama has marked out a Buddhistic swastika (yuṅ-druṅ) by means of barley grains; next to it he has put a 585 789

● 585 789 circle of good fortune (dga-skyil). In between the two magical figures is placed a measure of grain (1 bre, around 1 liter) which is heaped full of barley. In it is stuck an arrow and on top of the barley has been placed a little lump of butter: a symbol of plenty, of abundance, of fatness, of fertility and of protection (the arrow).

The bride now sits down on the circle of good fortune of barley, the bridegroom sits down on the swastika, and between them stands the full measure of grain. Little tables are placed before them. The abbot steps before the couple and sprinkles them with holy saffron 585 water. Now the sNatridpa and the Trashishpa step forth and take the heavy bridal hat off the bride's head, and in so doing they sing a song related to this act (126). A large plate, heaped up with rice, meat, vegetables, prepared with a strongly spiced sauce (curry) is placed on the little table in front of the couple. Both eat from /111/ *one* plate their first common meal in their common home. With it they drink tea, the bridegroom also beer. During the meal they exchange scarcely a word. They know that they are being carefully observed, for in the meantime the relatives and members of the tribe of the Dragshos house have gathered in the chansa; the five Nyaopas are also there in full force. Mother Palskyid now goes around among all of them and thanks them with deep bows and clapping together of the rings on her wrists for all the help and assistance and all the financial contributions which enabled them to bring about the wedding.

The male contingent of the relatives and of the p'as-pun now goes to the neighboring house of a relative where, despite the late hour of the evening, they are regaled with further food and drink at the expense of Lobsang Wanggyal. There they feast, drink, sing, and dance into the early hours of the morning. The bridegroom goes to join them for a little while; he sits down among the guests in order to watch the dances. This is demanded by custom even if he does not enjoy it. During this time the bride stays with the women of her new circle of relatives who most eagerly discuss the wedding feast and everything they experienced that day.

In the neighbor's house things get increasingly lively and noisier, and incessantly there resounds the singing of the men; the store of songs is inexhaustible; but as the time goes by the songs become more and

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126. Unfortunately I have not been able to obtain this poem up till now, which is entitled "źwa-p'ud" (taking off the hat).

more inferior with respect to their content and form, until the singing turns into the blaring of smutty and obscene songs. The dances also become increasingly wild and abandoned, an expression of the imagination and sensuality inflamed by the beer. Yet the group of drinkers and dancers becomes smaller and smaller. Many a one who had "enough" has gone on his way home with a heavy head and a dull tread; many a one has silently collapsed in the midst of the circle of drinkers and is laid down by the others in the back of the room, among them also Lama Dondrub from the Break-leg house who had been the worst with the drinking and telling of dirty jokes. The sky was already becoming ruddy in the East when the last ones who were still able to walk finally set out on their way home in the cold morning twilight. Part of the guests who had come from afar stayed over night at the Dragshos house, others in neighboring houses, and others simply where inebriation had caused them to collapse.

/112/ The bridegroom did not stay long among those who were still celebrating. Their wild doings repelled him; the smutty jokes and allusions of the drunken men offended his sensibility. When the latter had just started again with drinking and dancing, he quietly got up; his departure was scarcely noticed by the people there. Finally he felt himself released from the unpleasant obligation of being present at the celebration and went over to the house of his father. There his bride was still waiting eagerly for the bridegroom in the circle of the older women and of her bridesmaids. As time went by, he had won her heart more and more, despite the fact that they had seen each other so seldom. Now, finally, after long months of delay and anxiety the two had arrived at the goal of their desires. Namgyal took his bride by the hand and said: "Yoṅ (come)!" Silently they both entered the room which was now to be their common living quarters. Only now did they fully realize that they belonged to each other.

On the day after the first wedding celebration most participants slept far into the forenoon, at least the male part of the guests. In the Dragshos house, however, the women, as well as some men who had remained tolerably sober during the festivities of the preceding day, already prepared for the further celebration which was to take place today in the Dragshos house: the "wedding of the young man (bu-t'sai bag-ston) (127)." Towards noon the Chirpon people came with their

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127. The wedding celebration in the bride's house is accordingly called "the wedding of the girl (bo-moi bag-ston)."

585 entire clan to Kalatse to take part in the further celebration. The young couple went out to meet them. Accompanied by the Nyaopas and Bagrogs they went as far as the plain beyond the gorge in order to present themselves now as the newly married couple to the parents and to the relatives of the bride. The couple greet the parents with the customary bows, clasping of knees, and so forth. The best man and the bridesmaids each place a jug of tea and beer before the parents who have dismounted from their horses. The parents give the daughter a beautifully embroidered Kashmir cloth worked in different colors; to the son-in-law they give a colorful sash. The best men and the bridesmaids each receive a few silver coins. Then the whole company goes to the Dragshos house together, where the guests are very gradually reassembling; some of them do not get back until the afternoon.

/Following page 112 there are two full-page illustrations; one of a praying Buddha figure, without a subtitle; the second showing the "preparing of the butter tea" (subtitle)./

/113/ Since Lobsang Wanggyal's house was also unable to hold all the guests, the celebration took place in his apricot garden where the large tent was again erected for the benefit of the elegant guests. The others sat down on carpets outside and soon there developed the same picture as the one of the preceding day: They ate, they drank, they sang, they danced, and they gave themselves over to uninhibited
585 gaiety. But the element that gave this celebration its special character
431 was the fact that the relatives and the members of the clan, the closest neighbors and the elegant guests of the Dragshos, delivered the contribution, in so far they had not already done so. Large goat's hair sacks with wheat, barley, and flour; beer in enormous clay jugs, butter in hide sacks, salt, Teeziegel /tea tiles/; furthermore Tibetan cloth in rolls, articles of clothing; the lonpo donated an entire suit of clothing: jacket, trousers, shirt, leggings, and sash for Namgyal. Also a few sheep and goats were driven in as contributions, and finally the money promised by various individuals for Lobsang Wanggyal was given to the lonpo. The latter received all the contributions, wrote down all that had been supplied and all payments of money on a list, and then carefully compared what had been received with what everyone had promised at the consultation beer. The other men also examined closely what each individual had contributed. Most of them had brought exactly what they had promised, some even brought a little more in order to outdo the others. Some, only a few, came with empty hands but promised to bring in their contribution later. Shangkupa (in German:

Wölfing: /perhaps just a coinage meaning "wolf-man."--translator./) 585
from Teya had promised a sheep and now he only brought a little 431
goat's kid. "The wolf has eaten his sheep himself," Bandhepa thereupon mocked, alluding to the name of the man who had a reputation for being stingy. It was Bandhepa, as may be recalled, who always opened his mouth the widest. "That's right, and the ram stank too much for him, and therefore he wanted to get rid of it," some of the other men immediately joined in. These taunts went on in this manner for the entire day until there was almost a fight with the wolf-man. The lonpo who was respected among all of them, finally established peace again.

The celebration lasted far into the night. The later it became, 585
the wilder the goings-on got. Yon-tan from the Break-leg house, the brother of the village lama, would begin to sing drinking songs /114/ which provoked the guests to drink. No one wanted to be behind the other in this, everyone tried to outdo the other in drinking. Few of them stayed sober like Lobsang Wanggyal who, although he was a host who liked to appear generous and who liked to see jolly guests around him, nevertheless kept measure in drinking himself.

As it became dark there suddenly appeared a troupe of Bedas, [563]
men and women, boys and girls, of Aryan-Indian descent, an itinerant 585
people of musicians and jugglers who always appear wherever happy 533
occasions are being celebrated and where there is something to be 535
earned. Some of the boys and girls had attractive, regular features, but their deportment was brash and provoking. The Bedas sang Indian and Tibetan songs to the lute, some of these with a delicate and fragrant content. Their dances, accompanied by the sound of the lute and of the tambourine were also not without their charm. But the later it got and the more everybody's blood was stirred, the wilder and more passionate the songs and the dances became; and at times the celebration threatened to degenerate into a wild orgy, something which Lobsang Wanggyal, however, was able to prevent.

The young bridegroom appeared among the guests for a short 585
period of time and sitting among his relatives he listened for a while to the goings-on. But towards evening, as soon as this seemed feasible, he left the carousing and brawling company whose doings he did not enjoy. His young wife looked on at the dances for a while, standing in the door with her Bagrogs; then she disappeared too.

Not till late at night did the people from Tingmogang and the guests from the neighboring villages set out on their way home. Once

585 more Chosskyid took an emotional farewell from her parents and from her relatives, with loud "bride's crying"; for now she stayed in the Dragshos house which had now become her home. The people from Tingmogang are supposed to have had a very bad time of it on their way home, but afterwards they did not like to talk about it. The people from Kalatse and a closer circle of guests from more distant villages stayed in the Dragshos house where they enjoyed themselves into the early hours of the morning with beer, singing, and dancing; until finally the lonpo stood up and in so doing gave the sign for everyone to depart.

/115/ On the third day separate parties were arranged in both houses, in the Dragshos house in Kalatse and in the Chirpon house in Tingmogang: the nyendron (party for relatives) to which all relatives and members of the tribe are invited who have in any way made contributions of some kind to the celebrations. If both houses had been in one place, nyendron would have been held for all those involved on two consecutive days, one day in one house, the next day in the other. On this third day the celebrations were a somewhat simplified repetition of those that had preceded them. At the end of this celebration each of the masters of the house thanked the guests with great politeness for their help and contributions. The Dragshos at that time also dismissed the five Nyaopas after an ample dinner and plentiful drink. Through the lonpo he presented each one of them with three rupees and ample provisions to eat along the way.

On the fourth day all those who had in some way or other served at the celebrations in both places were invited, in both houses, to the dronchung (little meal): the female cook (zan-ma), the female beer-brewer (ĉaṅ-ma), the female bread-baker (ta-gir-ma), the female water-carriers (ĉu-ma), the lampwoman (sgron-ma), and further the men and women who had performed all kinds of carrier services; the neighbors who had lent little tables, carpets, cooking pots, jugs and other utensils for the great celebration; the guard who had to look out that during the confusion of the banquet none of these utensils was carried off. All these faithful helpers were on this day able to enjoy their fill of food and drink as a reward for the services they rendered; and on this occasion the singing and the dancing was again not lacking. In the end everyone received, aside from a word of thanks from the master of the house, a number of flat bread cakes and ample kollag as provisions along the way.

The lamas stay in the Dragshos house the longest of all the guests.

The lamas stay in the Dragshos house the longest of all the guests. 585

For seven full days they sat up above on the flat roof, so long as the 784 winter sun shone and produced a mild temperature. They sat before the opened house temple across from the statues of the Buddhas and the demons, read prayers, masses and exorcizing formulas; they blew on their trumpets, beat their drums, rang their bells, in order to exorcize in advance all the evil spirits by which the young couple was threatened according to the prediction of the devil-tamer. But finally /116/ they too moved away, fully satisfied by the success of this week. The Dragshos had not been stingy with food and drink nor with money, so they had performed the exorcisms with all thoroughness. At least for a year the demons would not dare now to approach the couple with evil intent, the chief lama had told Lobsang Wanggyal. The latter had said to this quite drily, "oh, oh! (good, good!)," and he had said goodbye to the red-caps in a cool manner. He did not think much of their holiness or magical arts; his experiences with them had been too unfortunate, but for the sake of his mother and of his clan he could not quarrel with the lamas.

With this the wedding celebration came to a conclusion; much too early for many a guest who would have liked to celebrate a few days more such as did, in effect, happen, among the very great. But if anyone was glad that the celebration had come to an end, it was Lobsang Wanggyal and his wife Palskyid. They had, after all, kept within tolerable bounds, and the members of the clan had contributed a goodly amount towards the expenses; and yet Lobsang Wanggyal had had to borrow money at usurious rates of interest from the Kashmir tradesman in Leh, in order to be able to hold the wedding in decent style. Old Norbu Wangchug, it is true, would have liked to have had everything in much grander style, especially since the main expenses did not fall upon him. But finally all the others were satisfied: such a large wedding there had not been in Lower Ladakh in a long time.

What became of Namgyal's brothers and sisters now? He had 000 two brothers and two sisters. The brother who was closest to him in age married two years after, as Magpa (128), the daughter of the well-

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128. If there are only daughters in a family, the relatives and 594 p'as-pun pick a bridegroom for the oldest (or only) daughter 855 when the latter comes of age, which is on her twelfth birthday. In this kind of a marriage the bridegroom is called Magpa, a designation which he keeps as husband later. His position in the house of the wife he has gained in this way is not the same

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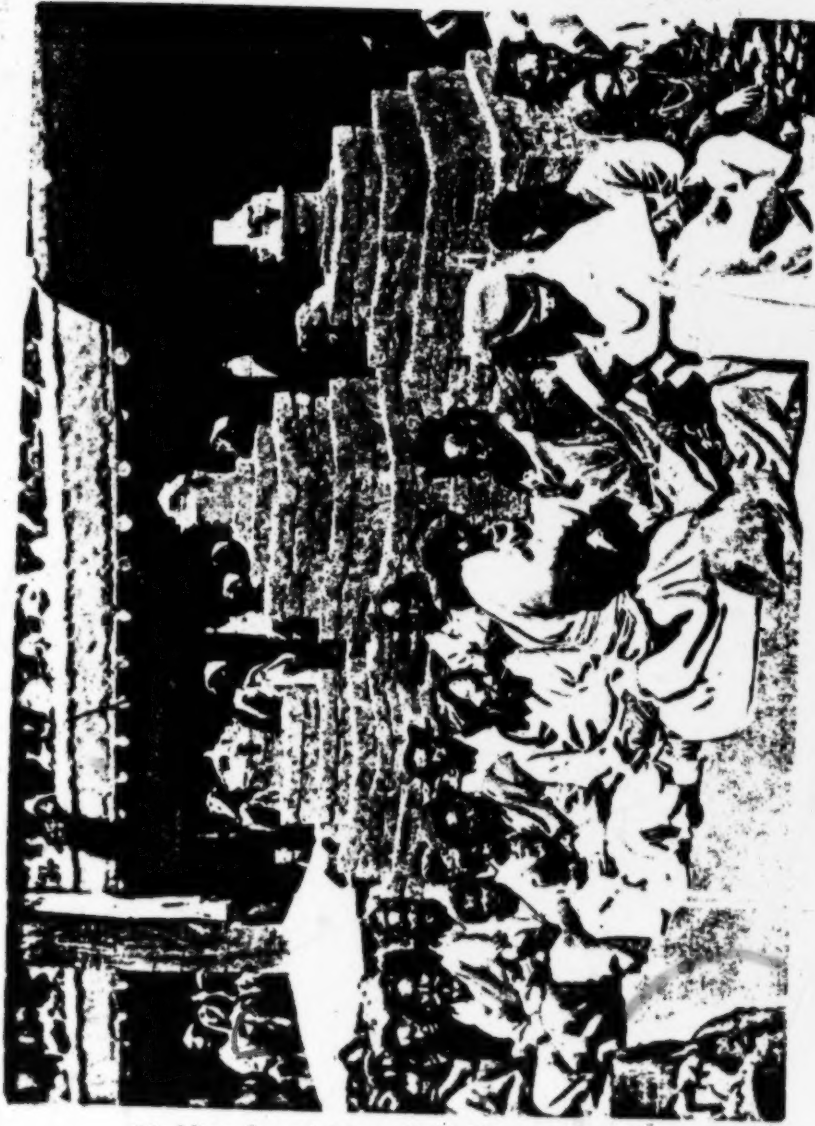

Wedding feast in Stog (Ladakh). Behind the men have been constructed three wedding cakes (bran-rgyas) in the form of Buddhistic stupas out of "cake tiles." The chang jug is circulating.

/Following page 128/

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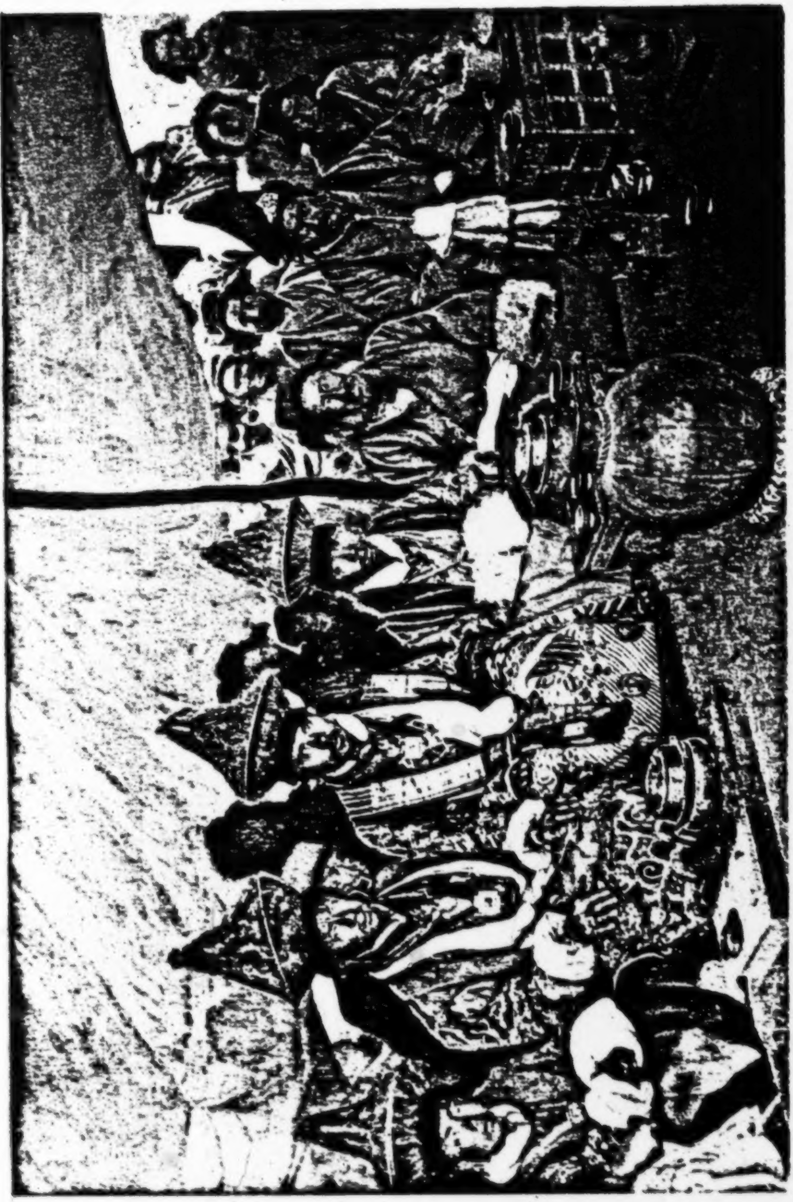

A Wedding in Ladakh

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/Following page 144/

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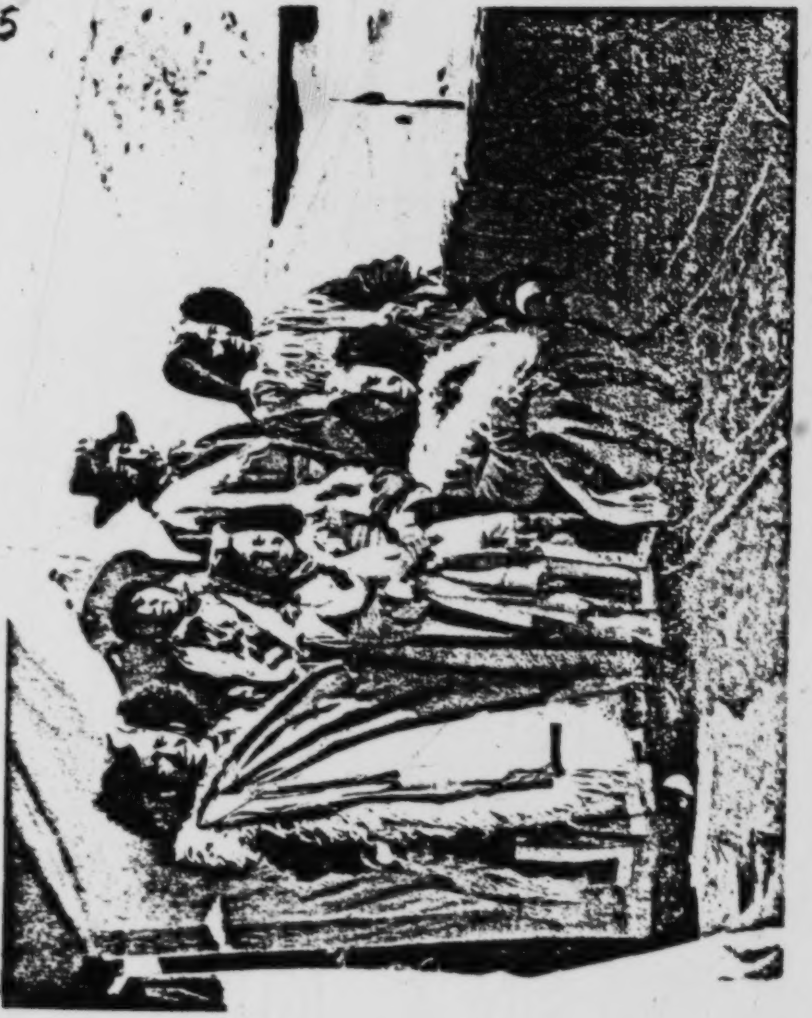

ride, bridegroom, (in pointed hat), the latter's parents and aunts

Chapter III. B.

Social and Religious Life.

Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

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child, but the wife of the family objected strongly, claiming both brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the household, and she eventually prevailed. In Spiti polyandry is not recognized, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones become monks; but there is not the least aversion to the idea of two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and it often happens in an unrecognized way, particularly among the landless classes, who send no sons into the monasteries.

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In Spiti when the bridegroom's party goes to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relations who stop the path; hereupon a sham fight of a very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well drubbed with good thick switches. In Spiti if a man wishes to divorce his wife without her consent, he must give her all she brought with her, and a field or two besides by way of maintenance; on the other hand, if a wife insists on leaving her husband, she cannot be prevented from so doing; but if no fault on the husband's side is proved, he can retain her jewels; he can do so also if she elopes with another man, and in addition can recover something from the co-respondent by way of fine and damages. There is a recognized ceremony of divorce which is sometimes used when both parties consent. Husband and wife hold the ends of a thread, repeating meanwhile "one father and mother gave, another father and mother took away: as it was not our fate to agree, we separate with mutual good will"; the thread is then severed by applying a light to the middle. After a divorce a woman is at liberty to marry whom she pleases; if her parents are wealthy, they celebrate the second marriage much like the first, but with less expense; if they are poor, a very slight ceremony is used.

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Corpses are ordinarily burnt, and the ashes thrown into a river, or made into a figure of the deceased, and deposited in a *chorten* or pyramidical cenotaph in the case of great men. Burning is the only practice in Láhaul, but in Spiti the dead are sometimes exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods of disposing of the body are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In the public rooms of some of the Spiti monasteries you are shown masonry pillars which contain the bodies of deceased abbots buried there in full canonicals in a sitting posture.

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Of polyandry, Mr. Anderson writes :—

> "Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhaul; but it is dying out. This probably arises from an improvement in the condition of the people, which has also produced greater division of families. The custom of polyandry is now considered shameful and is not willingly admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder brother's wife, not theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last ten years; the male population has now many new ways of earning a living, and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing and with them the custom itself. It is not customary to marry young, women being generally between fifteen and twenty years of age (*vide* Cunningham's Ladákh, page 289). Even the better classes have, as a rule,

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THE LADAKHI PRE-BUDDHIST MARRIAGE RITUAL.

(Translation and Notes.)

BY A. H. FRANCKE, LADAKH.

121 539 585 SOME time ago I published in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, Helsingfors, some translations in German of folktales and of extracts from a Tibetan MS. relating to the **Kêsar-Myths of Western Tibet.** The publication of the **Marriage Songs of the Ladâkhis** now undertaken is another step in the same direction. My object in these publications is to present means to the scientific world for unveiling the hitherto hidden treasures of the **Pre-Buddhist Religion of Tibet.** I was fortunate indeed to get hold of these wedding songs, just before they had vanished altogether. In Central and Upper Ladakh only mere reminiscences are left of them, although the gorgeous dress of the **Nyopas** and the scene before the house are still in vogue. In Lower Ladakh the songs have been preserved much better, but a large portion of them have ceased to be intelligible to the people. Thus whilst the first nine of the songs I collected were, certain passages excepted, generally understood by the ordinary man, the latter half of the collection consists more or less of a succession of unintelligible sounds. The reason may be, that the wedding ritual proved too hard a trial on the patience of the party and was cut short in many cases.

126 The method of reading has been as follows. All the songs were dictated slowly by the **leader of the Nyopas** to the village Munshi of **Khalatse, Yeshes Rig 'adzin,** who wrote them down according to the actual sound. This copy proved to be very useful as far as Yeshes Rig 'adzin himself had understood the words. For disentangling the more obscure passages, however, the assistance of the mission schoolmaster of **Leh, Shamuel aByorldan,** and of other Ladâkhis, possessed of common sense, had to be requisitioned. In this way, the first half of the collection has become fairly intelligible, whilst the latter half is still full of obscure passages.

585 539 821 It is necessary for the proper comprehension of these songs to direct the attention of the readers to the fact that **the four points of the compass** play a rather important *rôle* in the wedding songs, as well as in other Pre-Buddhist literature (*vide Ladakhi Songs* No. XV.). This

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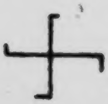
[79] See Sprenger, II. 482. The Jewish dietary law appeared to Muhammed likewise in the light of a chastisement for frowardness. Abstemiousness from so many articles of food as are tabooed by the Jewish law naturally appeared strange to a people whose supply was rather scanty, and did not despise fallen camels. This latter custom was abrogated by Muhammed in *Qor.* vi. 146, who also did away with several old usages connected with the eating of certain animals (see vi. 143 to 147). He further forbade the eating of animals over which, when being slaughtered, the name of Allâh had not been mentioned (vi. 118 to 121). Nöldeke, p. 119, regards this verse as misplaced. "As to the Jews," Muhammed adds (v. 147), "we have forbidden them to eat everything that has a solid hoof, and of oxen and sheep did we prohibit them to eat the fat, save what the backs of both do bear, or the inwards of what is mixed with bone" (*cf. S.* xvi. 119). Muhammed reveals here a close intimacy with details of the Code, which he could not have gained from his own knowledge of the *Pentateuch* alone. I therefore regard all those passages as Medinian. [FOOTNOTE DOES NOT PERTAIN TO THIS ARTICLE.--ANALYST]

585 539 821 is very natural, for as has been pointed out in the paper on the Kêsar-Myths, **the Pre-Buddhist Religion must have been a system of sun and nature worship.** Now it is the sun, who creates the four points of the compass. All of them are different manifestations of the sun and hence the importance attached to them in a physiological religion. This fact suggests a solution to the difficult problem of explaining the ancient mystic emblem of the **Bon Religion, yungdrung** 卐. This emblem was in my view invented to represent the sun as the creator of East, South, West and North, the little mark at the end of each line indicating the inclination of the sun to proceed from one point to the other.

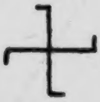
104 821 [773 It is not an easy matter to give a satisfactory explanation of the word **γyungdrung**, but I dare to offer one, in favor of which there is at least some probability. In the Kêsar-Myths **an old name of the sun, bya Khyung dkrung nyima,** occurs. This means literally 'the bird *Khyung*, the disc, the sun.' In course of time the name **Khyung dkrung** may have degenerated to become *γyungdrung*, especially at a time when the idea of the emblem had ceased to be generally understood. Laws of sound cannot be of much avail here, because we are dealing with a proper noun. A few suggestions, however, might be made in favor of this derivation:—(1) a word *γyung* is absolutely non-existing and cannot be found in any dictionary; (2) there exist a few cases of *k* being dropped when preceding *y*, thus *kyang* = *yang*, *kyi* = *yi*, *kyin* = *yin;* (3) there is only a very slight, hardly perceptible, difference in the pronunciation of *dkrung* and *drung.* Of course, this explanation of the emblem rests on the theory, that it is always the same sun, which appears in the East every morning, and is in opposition to the theory shown in Song No. I. B. 7, *post*, p. 135. However, the study of other physiological religions has proved plainly that the most contradictory theories may dwell in them side by side.

While on the point of derivation; in regard to the change from *khyung* to *γyung*, it may be compared also to the following corresponding words in Jäschke's *Tibetan Dictionary : khyabpa-yabpa*, both 'cover' in Ladakhi; *'akhyarba-yarba*, both 'go astray;' *'akhyampa-yamyoṅ*, both 'be unsteady;' *akhyigspa*, 'to fetter;' *γyigspa*, 'to be hindered;' *'akhyurba*, 'to be separated;' *yurba* or *yurma*, 'pull out' (weeds, *etc.*); *'akhyompa*, 'to wave;' *yompa*, 'be swinging,' swing The *γ* of *γyung* and *γyigspa* is a silent prefixed letter and is often omitted in writing.

In the figures *a* and *b* below is shown the *γyungdrung* in both positions: the natural and the reversed. The Rev. A. W. Heyde of Ghûm tells me that the *γyungdrung* as a monogram is said to be composed of the two syllables *sú* and *ti*, *suti* = *svasti.*



a



b

779 821 777 177 According to Waddell, *Lamaism in Tibet*, both the established Buddhist church and the adherents to the Bon Religion have a *γyungdrung* of their own, the one under *a* being the emblem of Lamaism, that under *b* of the Bon Religion. It is most natural that *a* alone should correspond to the actual course of the sun, for it is probably the older one. Indian Buddhist missionaries may have fought in vain against the use of the symbol, and finally agreed to introduce it into their own system by regarding it as a monogram, containing the three syllables *su asti* in Indian characters. Afterwards in opposition to Buddhism and at a time when the leading ideas of the once physiological religion had vanished. Bon priests made the emblem turn the other way; just as the custom of circumambulation was altered by the Bonpas from right to left.

1 [See source No 10 in [illegible] 32 -- [illegible]]

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821 In the drawings below showing the *γyundrung* as an ornament in Native houses in Khalatse, Lower Ladakh, it will be seen turned both ways.

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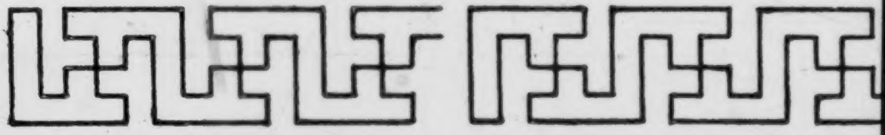

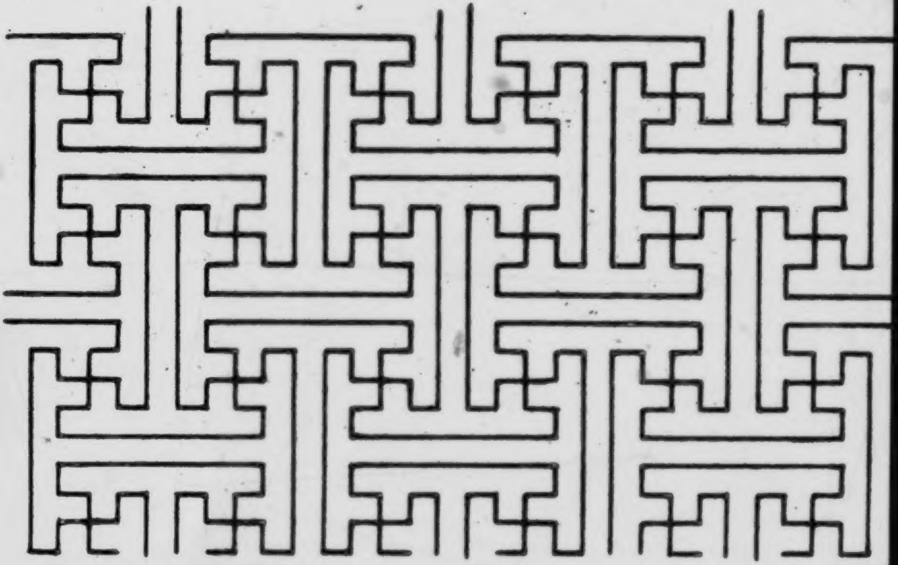

585 However all this may really be, on the whole I feel obliged to say, that my explanation of the *γyungdrung* must not be taken for more than a mere guess at its interpretation from a Tibetan point of view. I have no means in this remote land of collating these speculations with the mass of literature on the *swastika*. 532

The *γyungdrung* is thought to be of great importance at the wedding ceremony, and both bride and bridegroom have to sit on carpets showing the emblem. It is indeed in universal use in this connection, for in a copy of the wedding songs, which I received a few days ago from Phyang the *γyungdrung* is used for punctuation instead of the full stop.

Song No. I.[1]

539 585	bagma btangtsana nyopas sgola btangcessi glu'i[2] dpecha yin.	This is the book of the songs, which are sung at the door by the Nyopas, when the bride is given.

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[1] The orthography of the songs has been brought into accordance with that of Ladakhi letter writing. In all doubtful cases, however, the spelling of the first MS. will be given.

[2] *A chungbo* is indicated by an apostrophe.

om bkrashispar gyurcig, bkrashis bdeblags dang ldanpar gyurcig.	Om, may you be blessed ! May the blessing come unto you speedily !
nangmas btang 'adug.	The people of the house say :

A.

I. A. 1. duba sngonmo de stengdu rgyugpa ci'i don.	I. A. 1. That blue smoke, Rising upwards, what does it mean ?
2. duba sngonmo de bardu rgyugpa ci'i don.	2. The blue smoke, Hanging over the ground, what does it mean ?
3. duba sngonmo de 'ogtu rgyugpa ci'i don.	3. The blue smoke, Falling to the ground, what does it mean ?
4. duba sngonmo de sharla rgyugpa ci'i don.	4. The blue smoke, Spreading towards East, what does it mean ?
5. duba sngonmo de lhoru rgyugpa ci'i don.	5. The blue smoke, Spreading towards South, what does it mean ?
6. duba sngonmo de byangdu rgyugpa ci'i don.	6. The blue smoke, Spreading towards North, what does it mean ?
7. duba sngonmo de nubtu rgyugpa ci'i don.	7. The blue smoke, Spreading towards West, what does it mean ?
8. duba sngonmo de mkhardu rgyugpa ci'i don.	8. The blue smoke, Rising to the castle, what does it mean ?
9. duba sngonmo de yulla rgyugpa ci'i don.	9. The blue smoke, Spreading over the country, what does it mean ?
10. duba sngonmo de grongdu rgyugpa ci'i don.	10. The blue smoke, Spreading over the village, what does it mean ?

B.

I. B. phyimas landu.	I. B. People outside [the *Nyopas*] answer :
1. duba sngonmo de stengdu rgyugpa de lhai dbangpo rgya bzhinla rgolba ma zhus sam bsangshug phulba'i don.	1. The blue smoke Rises upwards, I think, that the Lord of Heaven, **dBangpo rgyabzhin's** anger may not be provoked, It is an offering to him.
2. duba sngonmo de bardu rgyugpa de btsan ama skyabs bdunla rgolba ma zhus sam bsang shug phulba'i don.	2. The blue smoke, Is hanging over the earth, I think, that the Earth-Mother, **skyabsbdun's** anger may not be provoked, It is an offering to her.

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3. duba sngonma de 'ogtu rgyugpa de klurgyal lcogpola rgolba ma zhus sam bsang shug phulba'i don.	3. The blue smoke Is falling to the ground, I think, that the Water-King, **lCogpo's** anger may not be provoked, It is an offering to him.
4. duba sngonmo de shardu rgyugpa de shar rdorje sems dp'ala rgolba ma zhus sam bsang shug phulba'i don.	4. The blue smoke Is spreading towards East, I think, that the eastern **rDorje sems dp'a's** anger may not be provoked, It is an offering to him.
5. duba sngonmo de lhoru rgyugpa de lho rinchen byung ldanla rgolba ma zhus sam bsang shug phulba'i don.	5. The blue smoke Is spreading towards South, I think, that the southern **Rinchen byungldan's** anger may not be provoked, It is an offering to him.
6. duba sngonmo de byangdu rgyugpa de byang donyod grubpala rgolb ma zhus sam bsang shug phulba'i don.	6. The blue smoke Is spreading towards North, I think, that the northern **Donyodgrubpa's** anger may not be provoked, It is an offering to him.
7. duba sngonmo de nubtu rgyugpa de nub snangba mth'ayasla rgolba ma zhus sam bsang shug phulba'i don.	7. The blue smoke Is spreading towards West, I think, that the western **sNangba mthayas'** anger may not be provoked, It is an offering to him.
8. duba sngonmo de mkhardu rgyugpa de rtselha snyanpola rgolba ma zhus sam bsang shug phulba'i don.	8. The blue smoke Is rising to the castle, I think, that **rTselha snyanpo's** anger may not be provoked, It is an offering to him.
9. duba sngonmo de yulla rgyugpa de yulthsa snyanpola rgolba ma zhus sam bsang shug phulba'i don.	9. The blue smoke Is spreading over the country, I think, that **Yulthsa snyanpo's** anger may not be provoked, It is an offering to him.
10. duba sngonmo de grongla rgyugpa de phalha snyanpola rgolba ma zhus sam bsang shug phulba'i don.	10. The blue smoke Is spreading over the peasants' [houses], I think, that **Phalha snyanpo's** anger may not be provoked, It is an offering to him.

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Notes on the Tibetan Text.[1]

Nyopa, buyer, because the bride was bought in ancient times. The salutation in classical language *Om bkrashispar, etc.*, is exchanged after each strophe, but will not be repeated in these pages.

I. A. In all verses *ci'i don* means literally : it is the meaning of what ? II. B. As regards the meaning of names and general position of the heads of the Pre-Buddhist cosmology, see my paper on the Kêsar-Myth in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, 1900, No. XV. The syllable *sam* I was first inclined to translate by 'or,' but people told me, that they understood it to mean 'think,' in favour of which might be pointed to the people's response : Well thought, you mighty friends. In v. 4, 5, 6, and 7 the gods, who govern the four directions, are mentioned.

They are the properly Tibetan *lôkapâlas*. In Lamaism three of them have become *Dhyânibuddhas*, whilst *rDorje sems dp'a* has become their president. That their relationship to the four points of the globe has not yet quite been lost in Lamaism, is shown by the *Padmathanyig*, see Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, pp. 98, 99.

The names in literal translation mean :— 4. 'The thunderbolt with the courageous soul.' 5. 'The producer of great price.' 6. 'Fulfiller of the aim, he has.' 7. 'Eternal light.' With the exception of 6, all the names point plainly to the different manifestations of the sun. 7 in particular goes back to the idea, that the West is the receptacle of all the suns, which have been born up to the present day. This idea is too natural a one to have been imported from Persia. Instead of *ma shus* the original rendering was probably *ma shu*, the imperative being used for the optative. 8. *rTselha*, god of the summit. 9. *Yulthsa*, village idol. 10. *Phalha*, god of the fathers, *i. e.*, family.

Notes on the English Translation.[1]

It might be well to say a few words about the scene, which forms the background of the songs. The **Nyopas** (*i. e.*, friends of the bridegroom, who were sent to buy the bride) come on horseback and clad in gorgeous dress (*vide* Plate 6), before the house of the bride and ask for entrance. This is refused to them unless they are able to answer certain questions. All the people of the house are armed with sticks and the *Nyopas* are beaten unmercifully as soon as they fail to prove their respectable origin by answering the questions satisfactorily. The people of the house light a fire of the wood of the pencil cedar and concerning the smoke of this the first questions are asked.

After the questions regarding the principal deities have been settled, in 8, 9, and 10 the local deities come in. Though in ancient times idols do not seem to have had a place in the Bon Religion, we can see how the idea gradually crept in. As we know from the Kêsar-Myths, the **lha's** or gods used to visit the earth frequently. High hills became known as places of the gods' descent, and to honour them properly, white altars were erected. By and by these altars or **lhatho's** were considered as being the dwelling places of certain *lha's* and at last the idea was developed, that wherever a *lhatho* was erected, a *lha* would soon take his seat. So we have a *lha* on the hill (near the castle) in 8, and the family (father) *lha* in 10. In 9 the word *thsa* might point to a rough idol, compare Jäschke's *Dict. thsathsa*. All of them have the epithet *snyanpo* = well sounding.

Song No. II.

A.

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II. A. legs bsams dbangi nyebo.	II. A. Well thought, you mighty friends.
nangmas.	People of the house say :
1. phuru yar yzigs 'ang gangs chu dkarpo de su dang ganggi chang.	1. Look over there to the upper valley ! That white glacier water, What and whose beer is it ?

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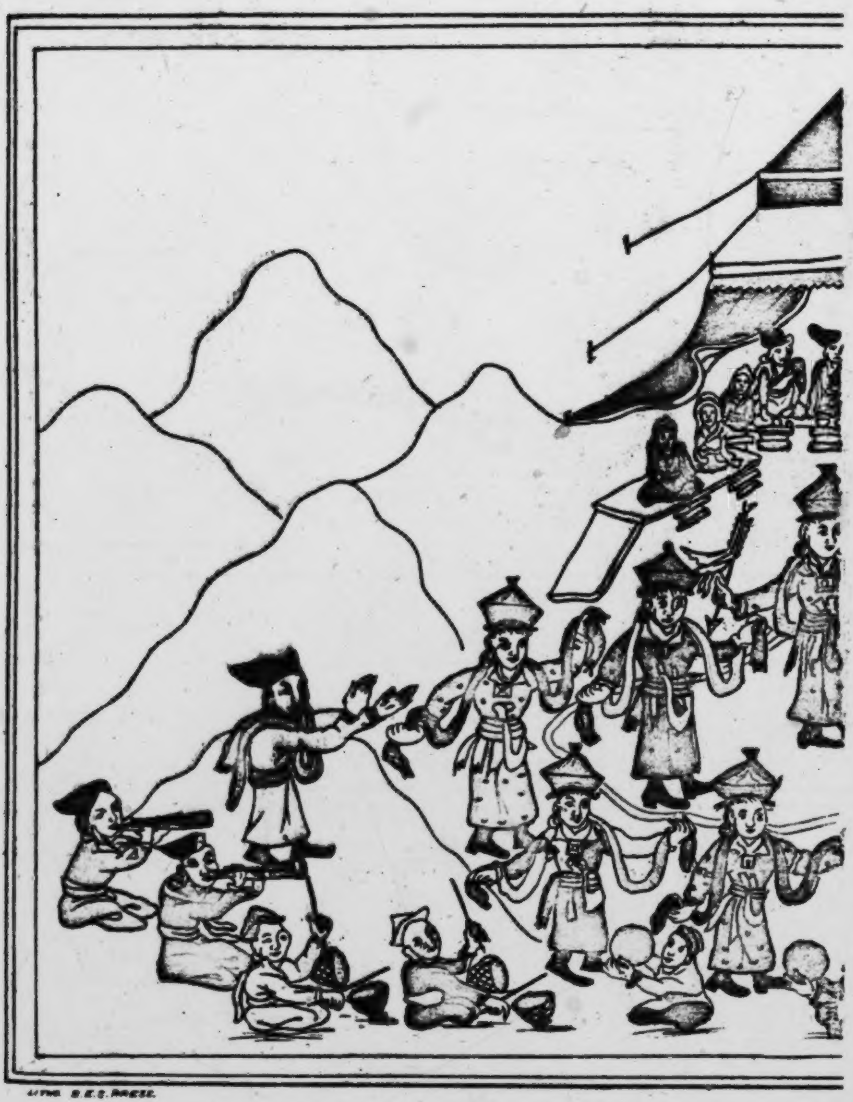
[1] [Cf. pp. 133-135, category 116 -- Analyst]

[2] [Cf pp. 136a and 136b, category 116 -- ANALYST]



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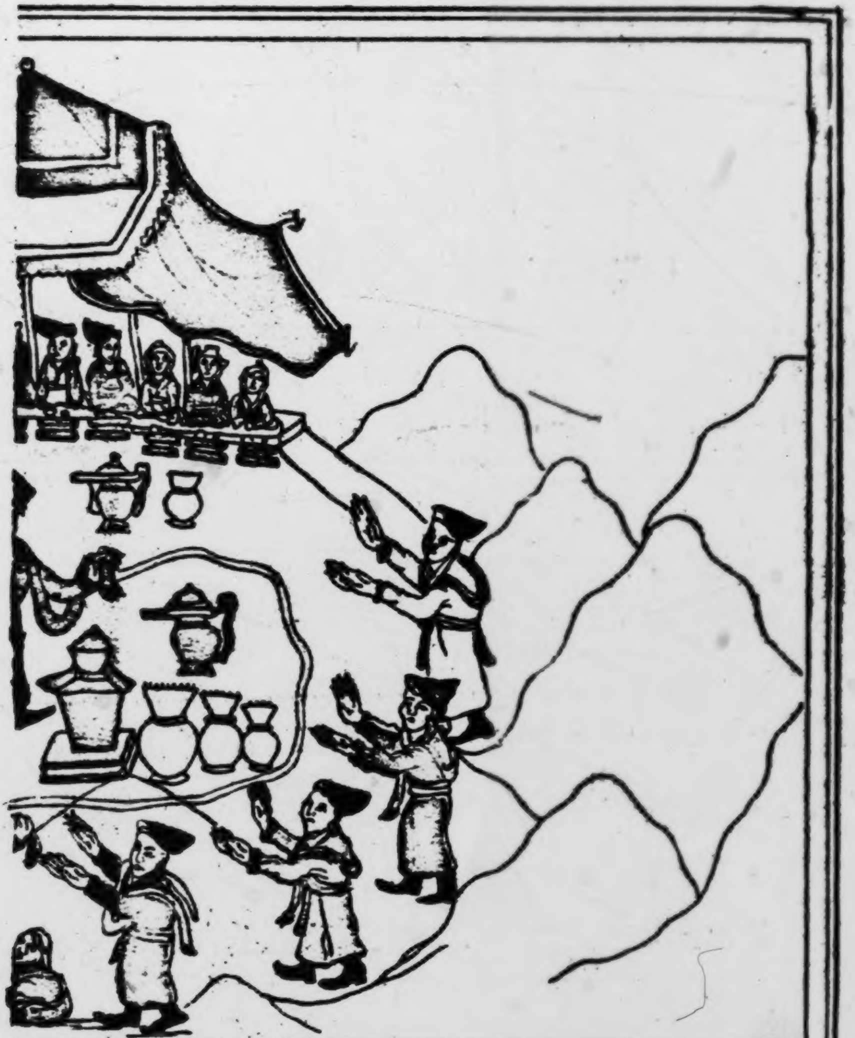

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2. γyasla yar γzigs 'ang γy'a chu khral khrol de su dang ganggi chang.	2. Look over there to the right! That foaming water among the stones, What and whose beer is it!
3. mdoru yar γzigs 'ang γtsang chab sngonmo de su dang ganggi chang.	3. Look over there below! That blue river water, What and whose beer is it?
4. γyonla yar γzigs 'ang chumig kyal kyil de su dang ganggi chang.	4. Look over there to the left! Those wells here and there, What and whose beer are they?
5. sbrulmgo ma chabrkyan nangdu yang dkar naskyi chang su dang ganggi chang.	5. And in this large jar with the snake's head The beer [made] of white barley, What and whose beer is this?

B.

Nyopas landu.	The *Nyopas* answer:
II. B. 1. phuru yar γzigs 'ang gangs chu dkarpo de dar sing γsoba'i chang.	II. B. 1. Look over there to the upper valley! That white glacier water Is the beer, nourishing the ice-lion.
2. γyasla yar γzigs 'ang γy'a chu khral khrol de [illegible]aphran γsoba'i chang.	2. Look over there to the right! That foaming water among the stones Is the beer, nourishing the young deer.
[illegible]doru yar γzigs 'ang [illegible]sang chab sngonmo de nyaphran γsoba'i chang.	3. Look over there below! That blue river water Is the beer, nourishing the little fishes.
4. γyonla yar γzigs 'ang chumig kyal kyil de ma shing γsoba'i chang.	4. Look over there to the left! Those wells here and there Are the beer, nourishing the mother-fields.
5. sbrulmgo ma chab rkyanla yang dkar naskyi khuba de nyo 'am spun bdungyi chang.	5. And in this large jar with the snake's head, The fluid [made] of white barley Is the beer of the *Nyopas* or the seven brethren.

Notes.

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A. 2. *γyachu*, this word is used here, so people tell me, for water with stones, not for stagnant water, *khralkhrol*, noisy. 4. *kyalkyil* scattered about. 5. *ma*, mother, used for everything large, here the large jar.

B. 4. *ma zhing*, motherfield, a very fertile field. Instead of *kyalkyil-parpur* is also used in the same sense.

Notes.

A. 5. The mouth of the jar is formed like a snake's head. B. 1. The ice-lion with the blue locks [or mane] was originally the glacier itself, later on it developed into a fabulous being, which was thought to live there. 5. The number of the *Nyopas* ought to be seven.

Song No. III.

A.

III. A. snyan ɣsanpar mdzodcig.	III. A. Now listen with your ears!
1. dgung dang dbyibskyi mjalthsul de su dang ganggis byas.	1. The existence of the high heaven and of the forms [plants, animals], By whom and how was it created?
2. sh[illegible]ng nubkyi mjalthsul de su dang ganggis byas.	2. The existence of East and West, By whom and how was it created?
3. lho dang byanggi mjalthsul de su dang ganggis byas.	3. The existence of South and North, By whom and how was it created?
4. steng dang 'oggi mjalthsul de su dang ganggis byas.	4. The existence of height and depth, By whom and how was it created?
5. phu dang mdoyi mjalthsul de su dang ganggis byas.	5. The existence of an upper and a lower valley, By whom and how was it created?
6. mkhar dang yulgyi mjalthsul de su dang ganggis byas.	6. The existence of castle and village, By whom and how was it created?
7. ɣshis dang ɣnaskyi mjalthsul de su dang ganggis byas.	7. The existence of hearth and home, By whom and how was it created?
8. phyi dang nanggi mjalthsul de su dang ganggis byas.	8. The fact, that some people are outside and some inside, By whom and how was it created?

B.

phyimas landu.	The Nyopas answer:
III. B. 1. dgung dang dbyibskyi mjalthsul de nyi zla ɣnyiskyis byas.	III. B. 1. The existence of the high heaven and of the forms Was created by sun and moon.
2. shar dang nubkyi mjalthsul de khri ɣdugs nyimas byas.	2. The existence of East and West Was created by the sun, the umbrella of the throne.
3. lho dang byanggi mjalthsul de zla mthsan dkarpos byas	3. The existence of South and North Was created by the Moon, the whitener of the night.

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4. steng dang 'oggi mjalthsul de shang char silbus byas.	4. The existence of height and depth Was created by the dewy soaking rain.
5. phu dang mdoyi mjalthsul de skyeser[1] rlungpos byas.	5. The existence of an upper and a lower valley Was created by *skyeser*, the wind.
6. mkhar dang yulgyi mjalthsul de rgyal dang blongyis byas.	6. The existence of castle and village Was created by the king and the ministers.
7. ɣzhis dang ɣnaskyi mjalthsul de ɣnyendrung rnamskyis byas.	7. The existence of hearth and home Was created by you, our friends.
8. phyi dang nanggi mjalthsul de nyo'am spun bdungyis byas.	8. The fact, that some people are outside and some inside, Was created by the *Nyopas*, the seven brethren.

Notes.

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In the original *mjalthso* is [illegible] instead of *mjalthsul*, which is uninte[illegible]. See more examples for elision of *l* at the end of a syllable in my *Ladákhi Grammar*, laws of sound 4. *dbyibs* is a word, not so easily understood, two kinds of *dbyibs* are mentioned in XIII., they are *nammkha*, sky, heaven, and *chos*, religion. B. 5. *skyeser*, name of the wind god. May be either *skyegsar*, the reborn one, see Kẹsar-Myth, or *skyebser*, producer of coolness.

Notes.

A. 8. This question refers to the scene created by the arrival of the *Nyopas*. B. 2. The sun is often called an umbrella on account of his circular shape. 3. Though the moon as representative of the night can be made to account for the North, it is difficult to see her relation to the South.

B. 4. Perhaps on account of the fact, that clouds show great varieties of altitude. 5. A strong draught is felt in every valley.

Song No. IV.

A.

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byonrabs yin.	This is about the origin [of the *Nyopas*].
IV. A. 1. 'adir byon rnams shargyi glingnas yongstsana shar phyogs rgyalpo sushig bshugs bran dang 'akhor ɣyog cila dkar dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.	IV. A. 1. When you came here from the eastern country, Who was king there in the East? Why may we call his subjects and servants white? What is their shape and custom like?
2. lhoyi phyogsnas yongstsana lho phyogs rgyalpo su shig bshugs bran dang 'akhor ɣyog cila dkar dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.	2. When you came here from the southern country, Who was king there in the South? Why may we call his subjects and servants white? What is their shape and custom like?

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[1] Having been questioned meanwhile by Regierungsrat Dr. E. Schlagintweit about the equation *Kesar = skyegsar*, I wish to state the following facts: This equation was not worked out by myself, but received ready made from the natives, who explain the name in this way. According to a letter from Rev. Fr. Peter, Kyelang, the popular pronunciation of the same name is *Kyesar* in Lahoul. In a collection of popular songs which I received from Phyang three days ago, the king's name is invariably spelled *Kyesar*. In Leh ordinary people pronounce the name *Kesar*, but educated people, who know the myths from the epos, pronounce it *Gesar*. All the changes from *Kyesar* to *Gesar* can be accounted for, see my *Ladákhi Grammar*, Introduction, *Kyirmo = girmo*.

3. kyed rnams nubkyi glingnas yongstsana	3. When you came here from the Western country,
nubphyogs rgyalpo su zhig bzhugs	Who was king there in the West?
bran dang 'akhor γyog cila dkar	Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.	What is their shape and custom like?
4. kyed rnams byanggi glingnas yongstsana	4. When you came here from the northern country,
byangphyogs rgyalpo su zhig bzhugs	Who was king there in the North?
bran dang 'akhor γyog cila dkar	Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.	What is their shape and custom like?

B.

phimas landu.	The Nyopas answer:
IV. B. 1. ngacag nyebo rnams sharkyi glingnas yongstsana	IV. B. 1. When we came here from the eastern country,
sharphyogs rgyalpo yul 'akhor srung	**Yul 'akhor srung** was king there in the East.
bran dang 'akhor γyog chosla dkar	For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
dbyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug	Their shape and custom are good.
sharna khri γdugs nyima mchis	In the East there dwells the sun, the umbrella of the throne,
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.	If you want to hear some news, ask him!
2. nga nyebo lhoyi glingnas yongstsana	2. When we came here from the southern country,
lho phyogs rgyalpo 'aphags skyed bzhugs	**'aPhagsskyed** was king there in the South.
bran dang 'akhor γyog chosla dkar	For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
dbyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug	Their shape and custom are good.
lhona 'abru sna 'adzommo dg'a	In the South they enjoy all kinds of grain,
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.	If you wish to hear some news, ask that!
3. nga nyebo nubkhyi glingnas yongstsana	3. When we came here from the western country,
nub phyogs rgyalpo spyan mig bzang bzhugs	**sPyanmig bzang** was king there in the West.
bran dang 'akhor γyog chosla dkar	For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
dyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug	Their shape and custom are good.
nubna sman sna 'adzommo 'adug	In the West there are all kinds of medicines.
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.	If you wish to hear some news, ask them!

4. ngacag nyebo rnams byanggi glingnas byongstsana
byang phyogs rgyalpo 'aphags skyed bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor γyog chosla dkar

dbyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug
byangna thsos sna 'adzommo 'adug
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.

4. When we came here from the northern country,
'aPhagsskyed was king there in the North.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
Their shape and custom are good.

In the North there are all kinds of dyes,
If you wish to hear some news, ask them.

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Notes. [1]

A. 1, *etc.* *cin da*, ought to be spelt according to the views of Ladakhis *ci mda*, *mda* (or perhaps *'ada*) meaning 'about.' The names of the kings mean B. 1. protector of the country. 2 and 4. the high-born one. 3. good eye. Very likely the original name of 4 had been lost and that of 2 was inserted instead. Each verse may also have a seventh concluding line : *ngacag nyebo rnamsla skadcha bshadrgyu med*, we friends do not know any news; *'adzommo* = *'adzompo*, plentiful. Instead of *bdelegs* the original has *bdelags*.

Notes. [1]

A. 1, *etc.* White is the colour of the lha's and of all good things. B. As regards the products of the different countries, they are mentioned in about the same manner in *Ladakhi Songs* No. XV. Harvest festival at **Skyurbuchan**. They are perhaps more of a practical than of a mythological interest.

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The three names, given in this song, do not seem to be of Tibetan origin. They are probably the Tibetan names of the Indian *lôkapâlas*. Though there can be no doubt as to the prebuddhist origin of this song as a whole, the names of the kings may be later Lamaist interpolations. I am rather inclined to believe, that an ancient version of this song had the names of those kings, who actually reigned in the respective regions many years ago. In this connection it may be added, that in Song No. X., where the four points of the compass come in again, actual geographical kingdoms, for instance China and India, are mentioned. Regarding the names, given in IV., compare Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 181; *spyanmig bzang*, instead of *mig mi bzang*, is probably a corruption, as it does not correspond to the Indian *virûpâksha*.

Song No. V.

A.

berrabs yin.
phyimas.
V. A. 1. shing stagpa skyerpa shugpa γsum
2. de γsum shing dang ma rdung-shig

This is about the sticks.
The **Nyopas** say:—
V. A. 1. The birch, the alp-willow and the cedar,
2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!

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[1] [Cf pp 139 and 140 category 116 -- Analyst]

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3. de γsum shing dang rdang·serna	3. If you beat us with these three kinds of wood,
4. mgoyi ldem 'schagna ldem 'schag stong dang len	4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5. luskyi phe raina pheral stong dang len	5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. snyangyi γyu 'schagna γyu 'schag stong dang len	6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold,
7. 'oggi sga 'schagna sga 'schag stong dang len.	7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold !
legs bsams dbanggi nyebo.	Well thought, you mighty friends !

B.

nangmas lande	People of the house say : —
V. B. 1. bdaggi lagtu yodpai shing γyu lcang ldempa 'adi	V. B. 1. This elastic stick of the turquoise willow, which is in my hand,
2. 'akhrungsa rgyagar yuldu 'akhrungs	2. Arose in India, its birth-place.
3. thsarsa bodyul dbussu thsar	3. It grew in dBus in Tibet, its growing place.
4. lcugstod serpo γseria yod	4. Its flexible yellow upper half looks like gold.
5. rtsemo sngonmo γyula byas	5. Its blue tip was made of turquoise.
6. lhayi dbangpo rgya bshinnas	6. By the king of the gods, rGya bshin,
7. lcags rgyabpai bk'a khrol cig	7. [There was issued] an order to beat [with it].
8. 'adila bk'alung yang dagpa zhig γnang serna	8. If you ask, what holy prophecy he gave regarding it,
9. nyi zlai bushig 'abrangs	9. 'A son of sun and moon may follow [you] !
10. zla skar mdundu mchis	10. The moon and the stars may be before [you] !
11. don ngan phugsu 'akhrugs	11. Bad speech ought to be blamed.
12. phu ngan duba che	12. If [the fire] is badly blown, there is much smoke.
13. mgron ngan ringdu mchis	13. A bad guest be far away !'
14. rinchen dbyugpas char cig phob	14. Now let go down a rain [of blows] with the costly sticks.
15. nam bz'a rincangyi ldurcig phob.	15. Beat them on their costly dress !

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Notes. $\frac{1}{\wedge}$

A. 4. *ldem*, said to be the golden hat of he Nyopas, is called *ldem* either on account of ts stiff shape or because of its being an emlem (allegory) of the sun. As will have been oticed in the preceding songs, the Nyopas ave to play the part of the sun god. 5. *phe* = *hye*, perf. tense, of *'abyedpa*, to open, thus 'if ou beat an opening of the body, "a wound,' he verb being used as a noun.

B. 3. *thesras*, finishing place, when applied o men, it is the country, where maturity is ttained. 4. *γserla yod*, it belongs to gold. . *γyula byas*, it was made [turned] into urquoise. 9. *'abrangs* = *'abrengs*, imperative ense. 10. instead of *sdusdu* the original has *sendu*, instead of *schis* it has *ches* and *ches* the ame must be said of *schis* in B. 13. *nambs'ar* adakhi for *nabs'a*. *ldur* perhaps the same as *dur ldur* in Jäschke's *Dictionary*.

Notes. $\frac{2}{\wedge}$

Because at the end of each verse in IV. the Nyopas failed to give a satisfactory account of the four countries, this is taken as a sufficient cause to beat them. For their defence they recite V. A., VI. A., and VII. A., and find fault with the sticks. On the other hand the bride's party praise their sticks as having been approved of by the king of heaven V. B., a king of the earth VI. B., and the king of the underworld [waters] in VII. B.

B. 9 and 10 is said to refer to the procession of the wedding party.

Song No. VI.

A.

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phyimas.	The Nyopas say :—
VI. A. 1. shing grama glangma lcangma γsum	VI. A. 1. The furze, the hill willow and the house willow,
2. de γsum shing dang ma rdung-shig	2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!
3. de γsum shing dang rdung serna	3. If you beat us with these three kinds of wood.
4. mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len	4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5. luskyi phe ralna pheral stong dang len	5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. snyangyi γyu 'achagna γyu 'achag stong dang len	6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold!
7. 'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.	7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!
legs bsams dbanggi nyebo.	Well thought, you mighty friends!

B.

nangmas landu	People of the house answer :—
VI. B. 1. bdaggi lagtu yodpai shing γyu lcang sngonpoi	VI. B. 1. Of this green stick of the turquoise willow, which is in my hand,
2. skyedpa sngonpo γyula byas	2. The blue middle was made of turquoise.
3. lo 'adab 'adzamgling mi yul khyab	3. The leaves of the tree cover all 'aDsamgling the country of men.

$\frac{1}{\wedge}$ [illegible]

539 4. rje sabdag rgyalpo bahinnas	4. By the king, the owner and lord of the earth
585 5. lcags rgyabpai bk'a hkrol cig.	5. [There was issued] an order to beat [with it].
6. 'adila bk'alung yang dagpa zhig ysung zerna	6. If you ask, what holy prophecy he gave regarding it,
7. rgyalpoi bu zhig 'abrangs	7. 'A son of the king may follow [you]!
8. zlaskar mdunda mchis	8. The moon and the stars may be before [you]!
9. don ngan phugssu 'akhrugs	9. Bad speech ought to be blamed,
10. phu ngan duba che	10. If [the fire] is badly blown there is much smoke.
11. mgron ngan ringdu mchis	11. A bad guest be far away!'
12. rinchen dbyugpas char cig phob	12. Now let go down a rain [of blows] with the costly sticks,
13. nam bz'a rincangyi ldur cig phob.	13. Beat them on their costly dress.

Notes. 1/A

539 585 104 In B. two lines seem to have been lost, because for all the rest this song is in conformity with V. B. or perhaps V. B. 2, 3 are later additions. In 4 the king is mentioned as representative of the earth, an older version may have had Mother skyabs bdun, compare Song No. I. B. 2, *ante*, p. 134.

Notes. 1/A

B. 3. 'aDzamgling or 'aDzambugling comprised originally Tibet and India, later on all Asia or the whole earth, in the latter sense it is to be taken here. It is the Indian *Jambudvîpa.*

Song No. VII.

A.

phyimas	The Nyopas say:—
539 585 VII. A. 1. shing starbu 'umbu tharba ysum	VII. A. 1. The walnut-tree, the tamarisk and the thorn.
2. de ysum shing dang ma rdung zhig	2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!
3. de ysum shing dang rdung zerna	3. If you beat us with these three kinds of wood,
4. mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len	4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5. luskyi phe ralna pheral stong dang len	5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. snyangyi ysa 'achagna ysa 'achag stong dang len	6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold,
7. 'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.	7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!

B.

nangmas	People of the house say:—
VII. B. 1. bdaggi lagtu yodpai shing ysa lcang sngonpoi	VII. B. 1. Of this green stick of the turquoise willow, which is in my hand,

1/A [Cf. p. 143, category 116 -- Analyst]

2.	rtsaba dkarpo dungla byas.	The white root was made of a shell.	539
3.	sbathag 'og phyogs kluyul khyab	The roots [of the tree] cover all the lower underworld.	585●
4.	klurgyal lcogpo m'a gros zilchennas	By the wise and glorious lCogpo, King of the Underworld,	
5.	lcags rgyabpai bk'a khrol cig	[There was issued] an order to beat [with it].	
6.	'adila bk'alung yang dagpa zhig γnang zerna	If you ask, what holy prophecy he gave regarding it,	
7.	klu phranbu zhig 'abrangs	'A young kLu may follow [you]!	
8.	yul thsa mdundu mchis	The village idol may be before [you]!	
9.	don ngan phugssu 'akhrugs	Bad speech ought to be blamed.	
10.	phu ngan duba che	If [the fire] is badly blown, there is much smoke.	
11.	mgron ngan ringdu mchis	A bad guest be far away!'	
12.	rinchen dbyugpas char cig phob.	Now let go down a rain [of blows] with the costly sticks,	
13.	nambz'a rincangyi ldur cig phob.	Beat them on their costly dress!	

Notes. [1]

VII. A. 1. *'umbu*='*ombu*, tamarisk. B. 7 *phran* is generally used only of young animals. In 11 the original has *song*, go, instead of *mchis*, be. This fact is perhaps the best justification for my putting *mchis* in the place of *che* and *ches* of the original.

Notes. [2]

If we look at V. B. 4, VI. B. 2, and VII. B. 2, we see, that the stick of the turquoise willow is identified with the tree of the world, which we find in so many mythologies. The roots of this tree cover the underworld, VII. B. 3, the leaves cover the earth VI. B. 3, and the top reaches *stanglha*.

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Song No. VIII.

A.

phyimas	The Nyopas say:—	
VIII. A. 1. skyabs zanthsan dang 'ulu thsigs bcad dang yogpa snanag dang	VIII. A. 1. The soup-spoon, the gravy-spoon and the black-nosed poker,	539
2. de γsum shing dang ma rdungshig	2. With these three sticks do not beat us!	585
3. de γsum shing dang rdung zerna	3. If you beat us with these three sticks,	
4. mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len	4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,	
5. luskyi phe ralna pheral stong dang len	5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,	
6. synangyi γyu 'achagna γyu'achag stong dang len	6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold,	
7. 'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.	7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!	

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[1] [Cf. P. 144, category 116 -- Analyst]

[2] [Cf pp142 and 143, category 116 -- Analyst]

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B.

nangmas lan ma shespas yang phyimas	Because the people of the house do not know what to answer, the Nyopas say
VIII. B. 1. nged nyebo rnamala rdungbai shing zhig yod	VIII. B. 1. A wood to beat us, friends, does exist.
shing hala ldempai shing zhig yod	It is a wonderfully elastic wood,
shing hula ldempai shing zhig yod	It is a marvellously elastic wood.
shing rtsaba γcigla rtsemo γsum	There is a tree, the root of which has three stems.
rtsemo γsumla yalga drug.	These three stems have [together] six boughs.
2. yalga dangporu	2. On the first bough
bya chen khyunggi thsangs	There is the nest of the huge bird **khyung**.
γser sgong ma bcagpa	Not breaking the golden egg,
bya thsangs ma bshigpa	Not destroying the bird's nest,
bya de ma 'agrogspa	Not frightening the bird,
shing de snamnas byon	Take a stick and come !
de dang rdung mdzod cig	With this stick do beat us !
de dang rgyob mdzod cig	With this stick do whip us !
de dang rdung mdzodna	If you beat us with this stick,
mgoyi ldem 'achagnayang	Breaking our helmets,
ldem 'achag stong medd	You need not return them a thousandfold.
luskyi phe ralna	Hurting our body,
pheral stong meddo	We shall not return it a thousandfold.
snyangyi γyu 'achagnayang	Breaking our earrings,
γyu 'achag stong meddo	You need not return them a thousandfold.
'oggi sga 'achagnayang	Breaking our saddles,
sga 'achag stong yang med.	You need not return them a thousandfold !
3. yalga γnyispara	3. On the second bough
byargyal rgodpoi thsangs	There is the nest of the wild eagle.
γyu sgong ma bcagpa	Not breaking the turquoise egg,
bya de ma 'agrogspa	Not frightening the bird,
bya thsangs ma bshigpa	Not destroying the bird's nest,
shing de snamnas byon	Take a stick and come !
de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.* (see v. 2).	With this stick do beat us ! *etc* (see 2).

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4. [illegible]alga ysumparu
[illegible]gobo ldad dkar thsangs

dung sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas slog
de dang rdung mdzodcig, *etc.*

5. yalga bshiparu
glagmo mkhal dkar thsangs

dngul sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.*

6. yalga lngaparu
ribya gongmoi thsangs

byur sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.*

7. yalga drugparu
khraskya dkarmoi thsangs

lcags sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agropspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzodcig, *etc.*

Notes. 1

A. 1. The expressions given here are colloquial Lower Ladakhi for soup-spoon, table-spoon and poker. B. 1. *hala* = *halas*, *hula* the same as *hala*, *rtsemo* means originally 'top.' 2. *sgong* = *sgonga*, egg. The termination *pa* in *bcagpa*, *bshigpa* and *'agrogspa* is Ladakhi for *par*, the supine being used here in a gerundial sense. 5. *mkhal dkar*, white kidney, *i. e.*, the feathers over the kidney are white. 6. *ribya*, another name of the same bird is *lhabya*.

4. On the third bough
There is the nest of the bird 'white head.'
Not breaking the pearl-white egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

5. On the fourth bough
There is the nest of the eagle 'white kidney.'
Not breaking the silver egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

6. On the fifth bough
There is the nest of the snow partridge.
Not breaking the coral egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

7. On the sixth bough
There is the nest of the white falcon.
Not breaking the iron egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

Notes. 1

This song seems to contain a further description of the tree of the world. It is remarkable that the tree of the world is said to have six boughs, for I have not yet met with the number six in other books relating to Bonpa mythology. In this connection I should like to mention that according to the *Edda* there are six animals (a goat and five stags) feeding on the leaves of the tree of the world, and that the *Edda* (not *Simrock*) speaks of six worlds.

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1 [Cf pp. 145 and 146, category 116 -- Analyst]

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Song No. IX.

A.

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IX. A. 1. khyed nyebo me ma khrul	IX. A. 1. Now, friends, do not let the fire fall down!
2. da nang yongba gangnas yongs	2. Now, you, who enter, from where do you come?
3. 'agroba nyidcag gangdu 'agro	3. Then, where will you go to?
4. sdodpai bde lce gangna yod	4. Where will you be pleased to sit down?
5. dgospai skudon sula yod	5. For whose sake do you come?
6. γshungyul 'adiru cila byon.	6. Why did you come here into the middle of the village?

B.

phyimas.	The Nyopas say:—
IX. B. 1. yong da ngasha sharphyogs bdechen glingnas yongs.	IX. B. 1. We come from a happy country in the East,
2. 'agro da ngasha nubphyogs urgyan glingdu 'agro	2. We go to the country of the paradise in the West.
3. sdodpai bdelce de ma γnas 'adina yod	3. We shall be pleased to sit down here.
4. dgospai skudon ni γshungyul 'adina yod,	4. Our aim is here in the middle of village.
legs bsams dbanggi nyebo.	Well thought, you mighty friends!

Notes.

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A. 1. *me ma khrul*, do not let the fire fall down, proverbial expression, for 'do not break down now, show your ingenuity!' 4. The original has *sula* instead of *gangna*, the lines 4 and 5 having been confounded. B. 2. **urgyan**, here in Lower Ladakh is understood to mean either **Padmasambhava** or the '**Western Paradise**.' 1 and 2 again show, plainly, that the Nyopas have to play the part of the sun.

Notes.

This song IX. is generally the conclusion of the scene before the house, the Nyopas are invited to enter and tell the name of the girl. Then the bridal party, the Nyopas and the whole village sit down for a great feast, when the **Chang glu** (the continuation of the wedding song, given above) is sung. On the following morning a Buddhist Lama appears and reads a scripture portion from an orthodox Buddhist book. People tell me that he may read anything, he likes, because neither the Lama nor the bride are able to grasp the meaning, and the chief thing is the correct pronunciation. Then the bride and the Nyopas mount their horses and ride to the house of the bridegroom, where another feast is given.

Conclusion.

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Having thus arrived at the end of the first intelligible half of the wedding ritual, it will be as well to add a few words about the other less intelligible half, though the latter is not yet ready for publication. After a study of the verses contained in it, which can be understood fairly well, I have come to the conclusion that the so-called **second half of the ritual** is not the continuation of the first; but a composition apart. It is in reality **a new ritual dating from the time of the introduction of Buddhism into Ladakh**, and is an attempt to replace the ancient Bonpa ritual by another, which, though not entirely Lamaist, tries to introduce Buddhist ideas by placing them side by side with Bonpa ideas. That this

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

compromise has proved a failure, is shown by the fact that people have never been able to 585 ●
grasp it in full and are now on the point of abandoning it altogether. 178

As might have been expected, my interpretation of the Kêsar-Myths has been criticised[4] as
being unscientific. There can be no doubt that there are no scientific means available to prove 585
the solar origin of many a hero. It is so much easier to prove the descent of all of them from great 773
ancestors. However, a certain amount of commonsense, now and then speaks in favour of a 776
solar descent. In my notes to Wedding Song No. I., I said, that the name of the northern Lôka-
pâla-Donyodgrubpa could not well be explained as a manifestation of the sun, but my critics 539
have helped me to bring him into the system. From the Kêsar-Myths we learn, that **Kêsar**, the supposed spring-hero, had a different name before his birth on earth, that is, during winter. Then, whilst in heaven, he was called **Dongrub**, 'the fulfiller of the aim.' This name is, so to say, a prophecy, it indicates the future doings of the hero. There can be no doubt that the year and the day have certain parallels, and the winter of the year corresponds to the night of the day. Is it wonderful then, that the **Lôkapâla** of the north (*i. e.*, the place where the sun is during night) should have the same name as the spring-god during winter? **Donyodgrubpa** means 'the fulfiller of the aim, he has.' The original name **Dongrub** was changed into a four-syllabled one simply to bring it into accordance with the four-syllabled names of the other **Lôkapâlas**. Thus we see, that the name of the supposed spring-hero **Kêsar**, before his entering into action,' is in accordance with the name of the sun before his starting his day's work. Does this fact not suggest a possible solar origin of Kêsar?

Hitherto certain schools especially have considered it scientific to compare the mythologies 000
of certain nations only with those of such nations as are related to them by language. However, religion overleaps the barriers of linguistic relationship, and there is no necessity to believe that a solar mythology had been worked out by a single nation and was carried to others by her missionaries. On the contrary, solar mythologies may have arisen in many countries and later on the different nations have borrowed one from the other.[5] The existence of the *Nibelungensage* not only among the Uigurs, but also among the Tibetans is an established fact. Compare G. N. Potanin: *Vostocnyje motivy v srednevěkovym jevropejskim epesě.* Moskau, 1899.

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON 4 OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS. 000

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M. A.

(Continued from p. 117.)

Bigha; *s. v.* Gudge, 307, i; ann. 1763: *s. v.* Beegah, 59, i.
Big-hā; *s. v.* Beegah, 59, i, twice.
Bihar; ann. 1872: *s. v.* Dagoba, 226, i.
Bihār; *s. v.* Comotay, 184, ii, *s. v.* Behar, 764, ii.
Bihisht; *s. v.* Bheesty, 69, ii.
Bihishtī; *s. v.* Bheesty, 69, ii, 70, i, *s. v.* Jemadars, 350, i; ann. 1782: *s. v* Bheesty, 765, i.
Bihīshtī; *s. v.* Thakoor, 862, ii.
Bijah Gurh; ann. 1781: *s. v.* Bheesty, 70, i.
Bijai Singh; *s. v.* A Muck, 13, i.
Bijalár; ann. 1300: *s. v.* Bengal, 64, ii.
Bijapore; *s. v.* Gardee, 278, ii.
Bijapur; ann. 1510: *s. v.* Deccan, 233, ii.
Bījapūr; *s. v.* Sabaio, 851, ii.
Bījāpur; ann. 1778: *s. v.* Mort-de-chien. 450, ii.
Bījapūr; *s. v.* Idalcan, 807, ii.
Bijápúr; ann. 1590: *s. v.* Cospetir, 202, i; ann. 1604 or 1605: *s. v.* Tobacco, 704, ii.
Bījāpūr; *s. v.* Deccan, 233, i.
Bijanagar; ann. 1441: *s. v.* Satin, 602, ii; ann. 1563: *s. v.* Madremaluco, 821, i; ann. 1620: *s. v* Pardao, 842, i.
Bijanagar; *s. v.* Gentoo, 280, i.
Bijanagher; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Bisnagar, 73, ii.
Bijanaguer; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Narsinga, 474, i.
Bijanagur; *s. v.* Chinapatam, 158, ii.

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[4] This remark refers only to private letters from certain professors; if I had had the pleasure of seeing Prof. Dr. Grünwedel's most interesting review of the *Kesar Myth* [published in the *Globus*, August, 1900], I should certainly have modified my expressions.

[5] Just like the *Wandermärchen.*

4 [Material pertains to a different article -- ANALYST]

595 428 the welfare of the state by the security and well-being of their
182 religious order.

595 The marriage of a woman to plural husbands, like the marriage
• 585 of a *magpa* to plural wives or the marriage of one man to one woman, is a simple affair in Ladakh. The relatives escort the bride to the groom's house, where prayers are read by a lama. The prayers are in part directed toward a separation of the gods of the bride's house from the gods of the groom's house. We of the West are not, in some respects, as wise as those of the East. But we do know that when the house of the bride is too closely associated with the house of the groom, trouble may ensue. We have our own terminology for the problem. The Ladakhis may be more realistic than we. They tackle the problem vigorously, though perhaps indirectly, by having the lamas exorcise the spirits of the house of the bride and keep them from the house of the groom. They know, as well as we do, that house gods can be troublesome. What the lama does is this. He has a vase in which he puts various charms. Then, after pronouncing incantations over the vase, he breaks it and thus destroys the entrance of the bride's house gods into the house of the groom.

The marriage ceremony is simple. It is merely a declaration by the lama that the couple are man and wife. Several days of entertainment follow, with the lamas reciting prayers every morning.

595 Divorce is even more simple. The wife in a polyandric marriage
586 or the *magpa* in a polygamous marriage gets a divorce merely by walking out. If the brothers want to get rid of their joint wife, the procedure is almost as simple. They merely tell her to go hence and, as damages, present her with a cow. But they must be unanimous to make the divorce that easy. If one brother wants her to stay, she need not go. If sisters decide their *magpa* is a poor bargain, they can dismiss him and present him with a horse in lieu of damages.

The wife of a polyandric marriage can get her divorce by getting up and walking out at any time. The husbands may send a

BALTI AV 2

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● 585
292

BALTI COOLIES.

They carry peculiar sticks in their hands on the march, like a short-crutch with rather a long cross-piece at the top. When they stop to rest, they pass the stick behind and under the load, so that it takes the weight off their backs.

A LADAKI WEDDING GROUP,

Shewing the rich Chinese robe of the bridegroom and his high tinsel-covered hat. He wears his nuptial white scarf and a gold amulet box studded with turquoises. His little wife is rather obscured by her large cape lined with sheepskin.

FACING p. 128

pieces of silver and gold, and then a local *Skushog* or great 778
lama comes to dedicate it. The mouth of the vessel is closed 782
and the wall built up over it, then, on top of this is placed 792
another clay vessel whose offerings are renewed annually.
On the third day of the new year the lamas are called in, and
fresh offerings of rice, wheat and barley are dedicated, while
the altar is decked with flags, branches of the pencil cedar,
arrows, and horns of wild sheep and goats. Members of the 614
brotherhood have certain duties to perform in connection
with the great events of life. After death only a ***paspun*** [764]
may touch the corpse, and in marriages it must be a ***paspun*** [585]
who carries all the bride's belongings and dowry to her new
home. Thus the countryside is linked up together in the
bonds of a brotherhood based on religion.

At the end of two years the lad's head is shaved, all except 852
a piece of hair, which is the rudiment of his pigtail, and
which is now carefully preserved, dressed and well-greased
with butter; this being an occasion, it is celebrated
gastronomically and no doubt alcoholically.

We now come to the nuptial ceremonies, but it is quite 584
unnecessary to wait for them till years of discretion have 591
arrived, nor does Cupid have much to do with the wounding
of Ladaki hearts, although even here there are occasions when
the flight of his arrow is mortal. The women of Ladak enjoy
a perennial leap-year, for in this country it is as becoming
for a woman to be the aggressor in matters of marriage as
it is for a man, and perhaps, in this respect, we are "the wrong
way round" after all. When the lady is the active party, the
husband brought to her house is called a *magpa*, but if she
is taken as a bride to his house, she is called a *gnama*. The [421]
property belongs to the active partner, irrespective of sex.

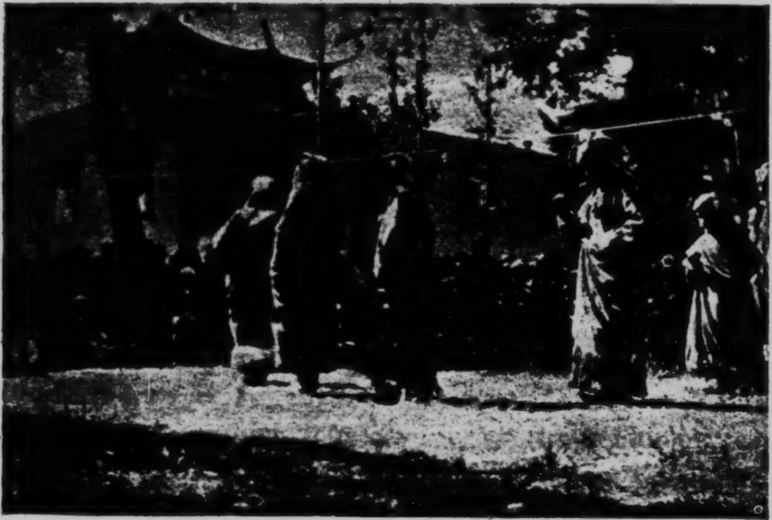
Three methods of getting married are sanctioned by 583
custom. The first has of necessity fallen into disuse since the
Ladakis were conquered by the Dogras. It was the prerogative
of any rajah or ruler, who wished to reward a man for services
rendered, to grant him the power of choosing any girl he
liked in the country as his bride. Thus a man of low degree
could aspire to the hand of a great lady.

The second method is frankly to steal the chosen partner.
The selection having been made, only relatives are admitted
into the secret. No big wedding-feast is prepared, just a small 586
one is made where the native beer or *chang* alone is unlimited.
Grand wedding-garments are not permissible, and the actual
ceremony is very simple, consisting merely in the bride and
bridegroom each donning a very small white head-dress,
called the *mgo ras*, while there are no religious rites. The
gnama or *magpa*, as the case may be, has to say "*zhu-le*" to
everybody, friend or no friend, hence the proverb: "The
bridegroom or bride must say '*zhu*' even to the cat or dog."

●585 The next day a deputation must go to the house from which the passive partner was stolen to say "*zhu.*" They are accompanied by a rhetorician, and take with them some jars of beer, some bread, tea, butter and a salutation-scarf. If the parents are amenable to the transaction they accept the presents, and receive the deputation; but if they object to the alliance, the welcome of these representatives is all too warm—they are ejected with kicks and blows, while the parents and their supporters go to the temporary home of their child, try to wreck it, and recover the stolen one by force. Hence another proverb says: "The parents are their children's
583 judges." The causes which precipitate such a stolen marriage are (1) absolute inability to afford the orthodox nuptials; (2) temporary financial disability, as at any future time the arrangement may be ratified with full ceremonials; and (3) if the desired partner is betrothed to someone else, to secure him or her by theft; (4) if the *Onpo's* date does not satisfy the couple, they marry on their own day, and have the official rites on his.

585
791 Lastly there is the orthodox wedding with all its attendant ceremonies. For this neither parents nor child must decide on their choice before they have consulted the *Onpo*. To this gentleman they tell the name and date of birth of the prospective mate, and can only proceed if he declares, after searching his books, that year and person are auspicious. Lamas, as a
585 rule, do not provide this information. The marriage may take place when the children are very young, but it is not consummated till after they are twelve, and, even at this tender age, little Ladaki girls sometimes become mothers.
584 Thus the Ladaki parents have to think about the future alliance when the child is still young; as their proverb says: "The difficulty of the father is to get a wife for his son."

Let us follow this father in his difficult path, supposing the child for whom he wishes to find a mate is a son. The first overtures are made by a third party, who must never go



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535

A BIRTHDAY ENTERTAINMENT.

Women dancing at an entertainment in Leh. The gesture indicates the plucking of a flower.

MEN DANCERS AT A WEDDING.

Resting between their performances. At the extreme left of the front row is the bridegroom, while the gentlemen in the upper row to the left with peculiar turnover hats are his uncles.

[FACING P 184]

584 to the house of the bride-elect empty-handed, and the fateful
[591] day on which he sets out must be decided by the *Onpo*. If the young lady's parents receive him favourably, more beer must be sent on several occasions, and a series of preliminary feasts, whose principal feature is beer drinking, is inaugurated. The first of these, called *holchan*, is only a small affair, but marks a definite betrothal. Subsequently more *chang* must be taken for the consumption of the relatives of the future bride, and at this feast or *nyenchang* (relation beer), it is decided what presents in kind and in cash these people must be given. The money present is said to be in payment of Nature's provision through the mother for the bride's first earthly nourishment! It may vary from Rs15 to Rs45, while the other presents include twenty-five to forty-five measures of *chang* (600–1,000 quarts), also tea, butter, *p'adings* (the local dried apricots), meat, rice, and salutation scarves.

The next feast is called the *trabschang* (conference beer), and its occasion is the assembly of all the relatives and friends some weeks before the wedding to decide upon and to distribute the responsibility of giving the various articles needed for the actual wedding-feast, such as the provision by the uncle of the bride of the *drangrgyas*, or cake, round which the dances will take place, and all the details of serving the courses
585 are arranged. The menu includes the following courses: (1) Tea; (2) a mixture of wholemeal flour, butter and dried curds, sugar, and tea; (3) *p'adings* and breads; (4) meat and a mixture of flour and water called *Boldra*; (5) beer; (6) *nanchang* or very strong beer, of which each partaker is obliged to drink one whole measure, which makes them thoroughly intoxicated; (7) *zilchang*, another kind of beer; (8) rice.

Nyobjhol is the procedure of fetching the bride (or bride-
292] groom). Those who carry this out are called *nyopas*, and their official costume consists of beautiful silk dresses, and high-crowned, gilt hats. Their number varies from five to

●585 eleven, and they set out early in the morning carrying beer. On their way to the bride's house, they may meet people with beer-pots, around the rims of which are many little pyramids of butter (*kal chor*), and reciprocal generosity supplies all parties with a further opportunity to indulge in "the cup that cheers." They will also find on their road about eighty pyramids of small stones set up, at each of which the leader must make a special speech, and, in the event of his forgetting one or more of these, he must pay some fine. He delivers them in answer to the questions put by a man who is a member of the bride's household. Quite near the house is a flag-staff bearing a flag of five colours, and above it the outline of a bird, while a stick has been hidden in the earth somewhere in front of the door. The leader of the *nyopas* has to find this by means of pacing. At the door they meet the relatives and friends bearing sticks, also the money and goods decided upon at the *nyenchang*. If all promises are paid up, the parties are admitted, but any defaulters are beaten with sticks. Throughout this procedure a boy and a girl (*spawo* and *spamo*) burn incense.

The *nyopas* now enter the house, and have three dances in the living-room, where they are provided with a menu similar to the foregoing one, after partaking of which they proceed outside, where a large crowd of onlookers will have collected, and dance round an erection of bread arranged round a central corpse of meat, flanked by two large pots of *chang*. The dancing includes that by the *spamo*, who dons [614] the bride's dresses, thus exhibiting the trousseau. In the evening the bread is shared out according to the contract made beforehand, the distributor being a member of the house of the bridegroom, whose badge of office is a silk cloth wrapped round his third finger. He is called a *paspun*, and performs this duty for all the members of his clan, who possess the same god and the same vows.

Now comes the time for giving the wedding-presents, and all go indoors and spend the time dancing until the fateful 585 hour foretold by the *Onpo* arrives, when the actual marriage takes place, and the bride appears. A scribe is present to write down everything which is taken away by the bride in case of a divorce. He, the friends, and the hairdressers will receive presents from the father or uncle. The hair of the bride (or bridegroom) has to be dressed that same evening, and she now puts on a white head-dress, the wearing of which is the actual wedding rite. Her dress is usually an ancient one, which goes from house to house. She comes into the living-room, and sits on a carpet on which the sign of *gyung-drung* (the Swastika) has been made in barley. Across the room a rope is stretched on which the father and mother place the clothes, while on the floor are the pots and pans which they are giving their daughter. The lamas now [793] arrive to perform the *yangkuk* ceremonies (*yang* means blessing, *kuk* calling forth), so that the daughter may not take away with her the blessing of the house. The *nyopas* present each lama with a piece of cloth, which the latter place on their heads ; to the girl's parents they have to give a salutation-scarf, and to her relatives small pieces of white cloth. After this ceremony, the lamas leave, and now the parents of the bride also present her with salutation-scarves, which is a duty of each relative also. The bride then weeps copiously, and lauds all that has been done for her during her life. The [614] leader of the *nyopas* now takes her into the small temple or private chapel of the house to say a last good-bye, for after this day she may never again enter this temple, having married into another *paspun* (clan). She is then taken on a pony to her new home by the *nyopas*, and this happens about midnight, for, if the bride be taken away by day, a fine has to be paid either to the King or to the neighbouring monastery. Before starting, the father and uncle of the bridegroom once more enter the house, and, again presenting salutation scarves and a small sum of money, thank the parents for the gift of the

585 [189] bride. Before arriving at her future home, the bride and her escort are met by lamas who perform the service of *Gyagsrod*, that is, the driving away of any evil spirits which may have chosen to accompany the bride, and whose presence is not desired in her new abode. For this purpose the members of the future home have sent a new unused pot filled with dregs, which the lamas, after preliminary incantations, break, and with it throw away a *storma* or strewing oblation.

The lamas now enter the bridegroom's house, and the leader of the *nyopas* follows with the bride. Her new mother-in-law comes to meet her on the threshold of the living-room, bringing a plate on which is a present reposing on some barley, which latter serves to enhance the apparent size of the former. This plate is given to the bride's-maid, or *spamo*, but before receiving it, the bride must salute her new mother, [595] who reciprocates the greeting. The mother then leads her into the living-room, where, if she is only to marry one boy, she finds him sitting on a carpet, bearing the mystic sign and wearing the white head-dress; but if the brothers are also included, they all sit similarly side by side, while near them is an empty carpet for her, upon which is the sign "*nor bu gyas a kyil*," meaning "jewel."

When all, including the *nyopas*, are thus seated in a row, the bridegroom's mother rises and salutes the *nyopas* in turn, after which the bride and bridegroom are taken into the store-room and given refreshments, the leader of the *nyopas* accompanying them. Their plates having been filled, the leading *nyopa* removes their head-dresses, putting them on a plate. Then he says, "Which is quicker, bride or bridegroom?" at which challenge they compete with each other at snatching the food off their plates. In this little store-room the happy couple live for some days, and each of the near relatives brings them a small piece of the *drangyas* (cake) and presents. The *nyopas* spend the night dancing at the house, with only the shortest interval for sleep.

The next day there is dancing again in front of a crowd 585 of spectators, and in the afternoon or evening of this day the bride also comes out to dance. If the bridegroom is only a *magpa* (that is, brought to the bride's house), he has to dance with the *nyopas* all day long. On this day the feasting proceeds according to the aforesaid menu, which is the same in both houses, and in the evening the *brangyas* are divided up and distributed, those in the bride's house being made of flour. Early in the morning of this day the bride and bridegroom have to go to salute the parents of the former, and the following night is again spent in dancing and feasting. Throughout, the *nyopas* and relatives take food and drink to the wedding pair, who also are invited to meals by the cook, brewer, and keeper of the store-room respectively, and whose hospitality they must return, while they must not omit to give food and a *jau* (As 3½) per head to the *bedas* or bandsmen. This same evening the *nyopas* receive presents from the house, where dancing again takes place.

The following day is called the *nyendron* (relative feast) of the bridegroom. If the guests invited by the bride amount to one hundred, at the bridegroom's feast there will be one hundred and fifty visitors, such a proportion always being maintained.

The next day is called the *dronchung*, to which only the nearest relatives come, while a final day's feasting provides the servants with their turn, and so the festivities slowly wane.

By custom, nobody is permitted to marry the relatives of 582 either parents. Only on rare occasions very distant connections are married, for instance, if they are removed three or four generations. This close relationship is called *Rtsibma*, indicating that they are of one rib, whereas the ordinary word for relation signifies "of one race." In ancient times nobody was allowed to marry a personal relation unless removed by eight generations.

If the happiness of the couple inaugurated with such 586

15: Francke
539, 585

AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/The wedding songs and the explanatory notes on pp. 49-93 have been marked for categories 539 and 585 but will appear only in category 116. --Analyst/

539 113 gSer-gyi-bu-zhun, from which the text and the notes were published in J & P ASB., /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal/ Vol. III, p. 121 ff.

539 115 [553] 113 In Khalatse, situated on the Indus River about forty English miles below Leh, I made the acquaintance of a man who was called dKon-mchog-bkra-shis. His surname name rGya-mthso-pa derived from the circumstance that he had married into the house of rGya-mthso-pa in Khalatse. Actually, however, he came from Lerdo (Lai-rdo) across from sKyur-bu-can in Purig (Burig). This man possessed extensive knowledge about the Kesar saga, and for this reason he was invited to recite at all family festivals in the village. His version apparently originated in Lerdo in Purig. For many weeks I worked with this singer and with the scribe and teacher of Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, and in this way I obtained the version of the Kesar saga that I have called the "Lower Ladakhi Version." This /3/ has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica under the numbers 1134, 1151, 1164, and 1218. dKon-mchog-brka-shis material was however, not yet exhausted with this. He continued with his narratives and now reported the adventures of the chief heroes of the sagas besides Kesar. I have published these sagas under the title: "The Paladins of the Kesarsaga," in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II, No. 10, Vol. III, No. 2, Vol. III, No. 5.

539 113 In all the publications in India I gave the text in its entirety, but I had to dispense with a translation because of lack of time. Instead of a translation I appended to each chapter a detailed table of contents and lists of the proper names and of the uncommon words. The Lower Ladakhi Version contains the entire material of the Kesar saga, as indicated below. For the most part, therefore, it covers the same ground as the Sheh version. Yet it contributes not only new elements with respect to the style of the poetic passages, but also a great many interesting and important variants.

The collection, The Paladins of the Kesar Saga, on the other hand, contains entirely new material, under the following headings: 1. Kesar's beloved Mon (man of a low caste). 2. The story of the hero sKyaba-rgod-po (lJan war). 3. The story of the hero Shel-gyi-bu-zhun. 4. The story of the hero rGyal-sa-dkar-po.

585 539 II. The Wedding Songs (Nyo-pai-glu). At each wedding in the region of the West Tibetans (Ladakh, Purig, and so forth), the following ceremony is performed: Seven friends of the bridegroom, who call themselves Nyo-pa-spun-bdun, "The buyers, the seven

brothers," go, if possible on horseback, to the bride's house in order 585
to buy the bride for the bridegroom. The bride's relatives will not 539
admit them until they have proved their honorable descent by answering
a long series of questions addressed to them in the form of songs.
As soon as an answer has been given incorrectly, the inhabitants of
the house, who are armed with osier twigs, rain blows on the seven
men. The songs used on this occasion represent a kind of catechism
in the pre-Buddhistic religion of the country. The same thing applies
to them as to the Kesar saga. The further West we go, the more complete
they are. I first observed this particular ceremonial in the village
of Stog, which lies opposite Leh. There they were finished with
the question and-answer ritual in the shortest possible time, and the
wedding feast constituted the climax of the celebration. In Khalatse,
to which I removed from Leh, the question-and-answer game lasted
much longer. Since I was unable to understand anything of the content
of the songs during the performance, I requested the leader of
the Nyo pa to dictate these questions and answers slowly to the [124]
scribe of Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin. In this way I obtained a
copybook of eighteen songs, each in two parts. I went through these
carefully with the scribe and soon arrived at an understanding of the 595
first nine. These nine I published in the Indian Antiquary, giving 113
the text, a translation, and annotations. They appeared there under 539
the title, "The Ladakhi Pre Buddhist Marriage Ritual." Neither the
scribe nor I understood the second part of the songs at that time. By
now I am somewhat better able to recognize their meaning, and the
songs of the second part will also be used in the following presentation.
After the song of the Nyo-pa had been delivered to me, one
day someone told me that the question-and-answer game of the
wedding celebrants was not yet finished with these songs, and that
this game was, in fact, continued during the wedding feast. At that
time, he said, they sang the so-called chan-glu, the "beer song."
Again I had a transcription made of this song, which I published at
my own expense by having about fifty copies printed on the missionary
lithographic press in Leh. These appeared (with text only) in
1903 under the title, "Die Trinklieder von Khalatse" /The Drinking
Songs of Khalatse/. Although several of these songs have very important
mythological content, many others are, nevertheless, of a
purely diverting nature. They propose riddles such as one might
expect on special occasions in gay circles among all peoples. /4/ [273]
Of special interest is the song which describes in detail the origin and
preparation of Tibetan beer (chan).

585 While I was occupied with the study of these songs, I was told
127 that an ancient manuscript containing the wedding songs existed in
539 Tag-ma-cig, the neighboring village to the west of Khalatse. I
immediately sent a messenger to that village in order to have the
work delivered to me, but I was to learn that this could only be
done in exchange for the payment of a fairly large sum of money.
After this payment had been made, the manuscript was left with
me for a month on a loan basis. This period of time was sufficient,
however, for my faithful assistant, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, to copy the
entire document. Unfortunately, the manuscript was so badly
damaged in some places that several songs had to be left incomplete.
Concerning the age of the manuscript nothing definite could be
established. It was reported to me that they had begun writing
them down only when there was danger that the old songs might be
forgotten. The manuscript may perhaps be one hundred years old,
and possibly a little more. According to my scribe's count, the
booklet contains about sixty songs, mostly consisting of two parts.
Quite a number of these correspond with the songs of Khalatse, and,
in fact, there are repetitions both of the individual wedding songs
[533] and of the drinking songs. We observe that in Tag-ma-cig they did
not differentiate at all between wedding songs and drinking songs.
Yet the title of the entire collection is "Nyo-pas-sgo-la btan-ces-
kyi-glu," "Songs of the Nyopa (Bride Buyers), To Be Sung at the
Door." Even though at the time I was unable to understand much
of the content of the songs, I nevertheless recognized immediately
their extreme importance in the study of pre-Buddhistic religion,
and I wished to make them accessible to the scholarly world. For
this reason I had them multigraphed in twenty-eight copies with
blue copy ink, but in this job I was quite unlucky. The impressions
were for the most part so faint that they could not be deciphered.
Fortunately, the copy made by Ye-shes-rig-adzin has been found
again in the meantime and important data have been taken from it,
585 which will appear in the following pages. All these wedding songs
773 are particularly valuable because they contain a great deal of ma-
539 terial dealing with the Tibetan notions about the World Tree and the
deities of the four points of the heavens. Later I was also supplied
with wedding songs (nyo-pai-glu) from the villages of Shel and Phyi-
dban. These are of a totally different nature, however. They are
songs of praise addressed to kings and ministers who apparently
celebrated their weddings in those localities. For the student of
religion they are of no value.

7. That blue smoke 585x
Blowing toward the North 539x
Is an offering to Amoghasiddha
So that he will not be angry with us.

8. That blue smoke
Over the castle there
Is an offering to the god of the mountain peak
So that he will not be angry with us.

/63/ 9. That blue smoke
Above your village
Is an offering to the god of the village
So that he will not be angry with us.

10. That blue smoke
Blowing through the courtyard
Is an offering to the god of the house
So that he will not be angry with us.

The People:

Quite so. May all go well with you!

Notes to Supplement, Kh. Ia and b[1]

This is one of those songs that show the old arrangement of the 776
prayer. The deities of the three worlds are followed by the 585●
divinities of the four points of the compass, and that in the order 539
of the course of the sun--, East, South, West, North. With respect to this arrangement, the ancient lHa-chos corresponds with Buddhism, whilst the Bon religion, as the gZer-mig indicates, for instance, always has the reverse order, that is, North, West, South, East. In accordance with this, lHa-chos and Buddhism also share the same swastika turned to the right, whereas that of the Bon religion is turned toward the left. The Tibetan manuscript gives the names of the Lokapalas in their Tibetan form, as follows: rDo-rje-sems-dpa, Rinchen-byun-ldan, sNan-ba-mtha-yas, Don-yod-grub-pa. The deities that follow after this are called: rTse-lha, Yul-thsa, Pha-lha.

This song is included in the manuscript of Khalatse at the

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[1] [See pp. 83-85, Category 116-- Analysis]

15: Francke--94 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 west Tibetans AJ4

Table II[1]

531 773 Number 6. The "wishing cow of Paradise" (aDod-ajoi-ba). (Compare photograph.) Underneath it a musk animal. The latter drawing was later destroyed.

Number 7 and 10. The "big old ibex." A personification of the cliff. Above number 7 a hallowed offering is drawn.

Number 8. Two Garuda (Khyun), so-called "ear-garuda."

Number 9. The horned Agu Pa-san-ldan-ru-skyes.

Number 12. The same Agu in battle.

Number 11. Two water snakes (Naga).

531 771 " 13. Priests of the old religion. So-called On-po.

531 535 " 14 and 16. Religious dances. The dancers stand in single file, one behind the other. In number 16 the leaders stand outside the line.

782 585 531 " 15. Beer offerings of the bride purchasers. Three jugs of beer, decorated around the edge at the top with little pieces of butter (ka-lcor). The leader of the bride purchasers is holding in his right hand an arrow decorated with little flags.

Table III[2]

531 782 Number 17, 18. Hallowed offerings, flour and cake.

778 " 19. A small altar of the old religion.

" 20. Probably a dos-mo. (Compare photograph.)

" 21. Hallowed offering of flowers or twigs of juniper.

" 22. The ear-garuda (rNa-khyun), in front of it a fox, behind it illegible letters.

[1] [see p. 98, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

[2] [see p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

/Illustrations and Photographs.[1] /

532 /(1)/ Number 1. Dance of the bride purchasers (Drawing by
● 585 a native artist in Ladakh).
292

535 The bride purchasers (five here instead of seven) can be identi-
534 fied by their tall, golden hats, which characterize them as "children
415 of the gods." The leader is holding an arrow with little flags in his hand. They dance by sliding a shawl like a snake across their shoulders. The music: Two oboe players, two drummers each with two kettledrums, and two tambourine beaters. The people clap their hands to the beat of the music. The family of the bride is inside the tent. Beer jugs made of clay and brass.

778 /(2)/ No. 2. Altars that have fallen into disrepair, dedicated
772 to the three realms of the world. They were probably painted blue, red, and white. In the Skinling Valley near Khalatse.

531 No. 3. Rock drawings along the Indus River near Khalatse.
778

137 Buddhist stupas, between them a small, horned altar belonging to the pre-Buddhist religion. Twigs of the caper shrub.

778 /(3)/ No. 4. Rig-adzin-mgon-po of Gad-pa near Leh.

Three stupas of blue, white, and red color respectively. Continued existence of altars painted in the same manner and belonging to the old religion, within Buddhism.

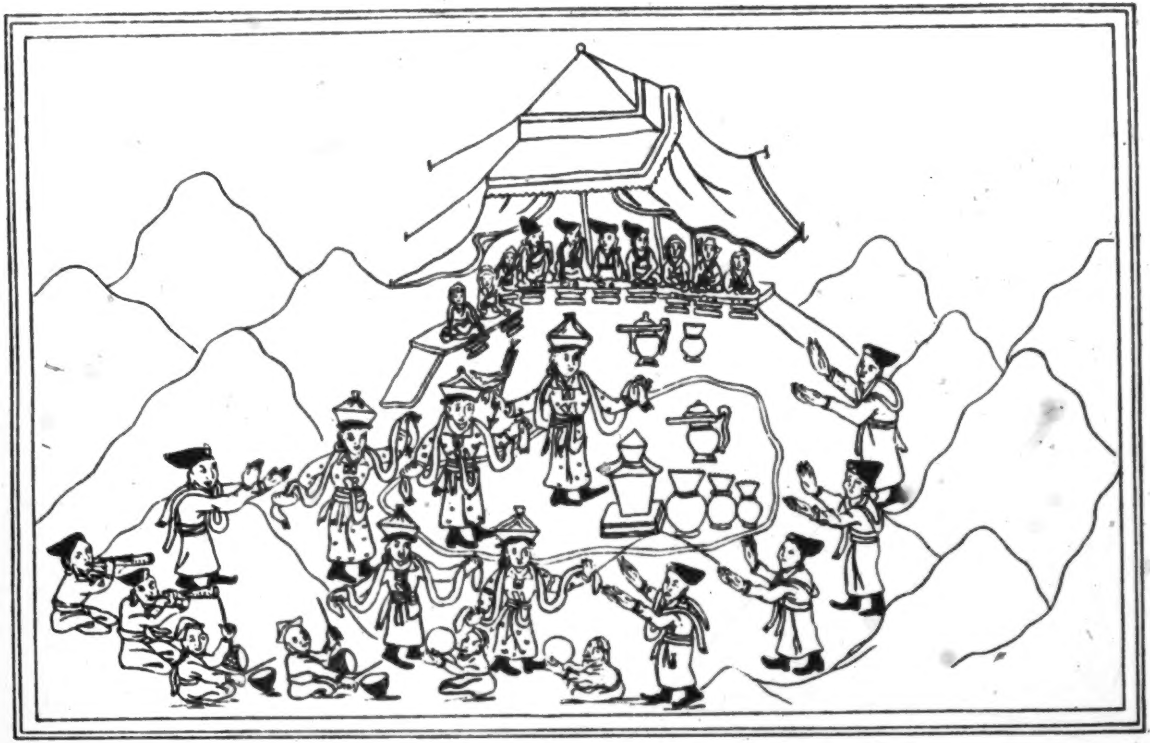
133 /(4)/ No. 5. View of the Tibetan part of the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Rough altar of the pre-Buddhist religion. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

772 /(5)/ No. 6. The holy mountain Purgyul in the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Like the Kailasa it belongs to the Tibetan Olympus. Up above live the gods and the redeemed human beings. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

[1] [See pp. 103-117, Category 116--Analyst]



Nr. 1. Caption for above picture appears on page 100

585
532
535

782 and finally sacrificed. At a marriage conducted
● 585 on a large scale, a sheep is thrown headlong from
782 the roof of a house, and its heart torn out.
Similarly, when sickness occurs threatening the
755 life of the patient, a sheep has to be sacrificed.
782 The animal is covered with a shroud to
impersonate a corpse. In the meanwhile, the
relations of the sick man call him repeatedly by
name, and to the accompaniment of loud
lamentations the sheep is led to the cremating
ground and burnt alive.
000 Though in theory the taking of life and the

Your tails are as fine as a sinew ; 796
You have gone round the threshing floor until the 533
sweat broke upon you ;
You have gone round until your tendons contracted.

When the grain threshed by the oxen has been winnowed, 796 the ceremony of blessing the grain is performed. Around 782 the heap of grain four grain sacks, with their open ends facing the heap, are laid in the form of a square. Fried barley flour and butter (*Sur*) is placed on the threshing floor at the circumference of the heap of grain, whilst the droppings of the cattle (*Lcha*), an image of the god of harvest (*Sku-Dra*), and a few grains of corn (*Shrub*) are imbedded in the pile of grain. Scattering a few grains of corn hither and thither, a man invokes the god by saying :

I offer this ;
Oh Aria the Lord of wealth, may the grain increase
as the droppings from the oxen.[8]

The 17th and 18th days of the 10th month are times 585 ● specially assigned for the celebration of marriages. These ceremonies held in Ladakh suffer very little modification or addition in ritual, for departure from the accepted customs handed down by tradition is considered to be an affront to the communal conscience.

WALTER ASBOE

AN IRISH FOLK-POEM

THE following poem was taken down, in 1933, on the Great Blasket Island, Kerry, from the singing of Peig Sayers the story-teller (see *Béaloideas*, vol. II, p. 108). As I have never seen another version in any collection of Irish folk-poems or elsewhere, it may be of interest to have it recorded here, in the Blasket dialect,

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[8] *Original Ladakhi dialect*
mChod
Nor gi bdag po a-ri-a rdzam pa la.

595 he belongs to her, not she to him, as she would in the regular, fraternal 428 polyandry of the *bag-ma* marriage. The heiress's children take her name, and her bridegroom is really nothing more than the man she has chosen to enable her to have the children she needs to hand down the property [586] she has inherited undivided. A *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be turned out by their wife without her having any obligation to compensate them; in such cases, the woman does, however, usually give the poor man a sheep or a few rupees as a parting present. Even if there are children of the union, the *mag-pa* or *mag-pas* can be dismissed, it being considered that he or they have fulfilled their mission and are no longer of any use. Offspring remain with the house, namely in this case, with the mother.

428 In the rare cases where there are no direct heirs, male or female, 597 household property and family name go to the most closely related member of some related branch, with a preference for the paternal side if possible. But usually even this is avoided by the adoption of an heir, such being the preoccupation of the Lahulis with keeping the property undivided and with handing down the family name.

● 585 On the 1st July 1938, Wazir Thakur Partap Chand took me to Gumling [595] village to see a *bag-ma* wedding in the Tolag-pa house. It will be seen in the genealogy of the Karpa house given in Table 26, that Tseten, [601] eldest of the four sons of Namgyal Karpa, after having been part of a polyandrous marriage with his three brothers, left them when their common wife died to become a *mag-pa* in the Tolag-pa House of Gumling. He had had four boys and two girls, and it was to the wedding of these four sons of Tseten that my wife and I were now invited.

On arrival at the house, Tseten received us, flanked by a young wom- [273] an beautifully dressed in coloured silks with a white scarf over her shoulders and a magnificent turquoise crown on her head, who immediately offered us *chang* (local barley beer) to drink, in spite of the early hour (it was seven a.m.). All the way from Kyelang to Gumling, only [564] half an hour's ride, we had been preceded by a member of the smith [533] caste, a Gara, who drummed away loudly on a kettle-shaped instrument to do us honour and announce our arrival. He now stopped beating it and went into the house with us to join others like himself who, today, on this festive occasion, constituted the band.

With the Wazir, we were taken up to a guest room where we were invited to sit cross-legged on the floor and plied with tea and more *chang*. Once we had been through this ritual of polite reception, we were taken up onto the roof of the house where a carpet had been put

[Text continues on p. 318]

585 on the floor in a deep niche for us to sit upon. Other guests, native, were already there, and they greeted us politely as we sat down.

We had hardly been there a few minutes, when the bridal procession was heard arriving. Two drumming Garas preceded it, and they were followed by the bride herself, completely trussed up in a white sheet and carried bodily on the back of a man. These two were followed in turn by a crowd of women led by three young men whom I heard are called *nya-opa* (*gNya-ao-pa*) meaning "witness". They had flowers and bits of straw in their hats and wore colourful clothes. It seemed that three of them (including the man carrying the bride) had always to be related to the bridegroom, while the two others need only be of his village.

[583] All these people had been to fetch the bride from her home, and they had done it in the traditional way, which was to steal her. She had been surprised in the fields while she was at work, covered by the sheet in which she was now wrapped, and carried away by one of the *nya-opa*, the *Na-tri-pa* (*sNa-aK'hrid-pa*), literally "the one who conducts (the bride) by the nose". She put up a show of resistance and, as she arrived near the house in which we waited, she was crying out and bemoaning her fate in truly traditional way. This is compulsory, it appears, in order to give the impression that the girl is modest and respectable, unwilling to leave her parents and be married off to some strange man (or men). Should she walk of her own accord to her future hunsbands' house, for instance, it would be considered the height of indecency, giving the impression that she wanted to leave her old home and go to that of her betrothed.

The white bundle which was the bride was deposited in the yard of the house at the feet of a woman standing there. Upon enquiry, I heard that the latter was a relative of the bridegrooms, and now had a role to play. Sure enough, as soon as the bride touched the ground, the woman sat down beside her, and the new arrival collapsed ceremoniously across her knees, continuing to wail and to cry out in a perfect performance. The Gara drummers settled down opposite, on the other side of the yard, and continued to beat their instruments as loudly as they could, as if they wanted to drown the laments of the wailing bride.

585
789 Three lamas from the local monastery then came out of the house. The first one carried a stone slab with three little figures kneaded out of *tsampa* (*Tsam-pa*) (barley flour) on it, one of them with a lighted candle in front of it and another with a little pillar, also made of *tsampa*, standing before it. These were called *tsa-sum* (*Ts'ha-gSum*), and were

figures connected with getting rid of evil spirits. The second monk carried a *drilbu* (*dril-bu*) or bell, and a *dorje* (*rDorJe*) or *vajra* thunderbolt, those ubiquitous instruments of Tibetan lamaist ritual. The third one carried a plate full of glowing charcoal embers. 585 789

On reaching the sobbing bride and the woman over whose knee she was bent, the priests lit the candle of the *tsa-sum* and dropped powdered incense onto the burning coals. The plate containing these, now smoking copiously, was placed below the girl's dress so as to fumigate her from below of any evil that she might have brought with her. The *tsa-sum* was passed repeatedly and slowly over her, clockwise, to the accompaniment of muttered prayers, and then thrown away over a nearby hedge with much whistling and shouting from the onlookers and even the sound of a shot being fired somewhere close to the house. Thakur Partap Chand explained that the *tsa-sum*, loaded with the evil which the girl had brought with her and which had been chased out of her by the fumes and smoke from the charcoal, had now been thrown away; a gun had been fired to kill the devils who were trying to escape, while the object of the shouting and whistling by the onlookers was to frighten away those devils who had not been hit.

Once all this was finished, the *Nya-opa* put shoes on the bride, who had arrived without any. She struggled and protested against this action, saying, as she traditionally should, that she did not want them. Ornaments were next placed on her while she made further protests, refusing to change her posture which was still that of lying prostrate over her woman companion's knee. The girl in the elaborate dress who had offered us *chang* when we arrived, then came out and gave a drink of the beer to each of the men. She poured it into their palms, from which they drank, and then went over to the bride to do the same. I was surprised to see the latter lap it up without making any fuss. 585 [273]

After this, the *Na-tri-pa* picked the bride up again and carried her into the house. As I wanted to see what was going to happen now, we left the roof from where we had been watching up to this point, and climbed down the steps to the main room, on the ground floor of the house, into which the bundle which still constituted the bride was being carried. We got there just a few seconds ahead of her, and sat down quickly at the far end in front of the window, next to the three lamas who had also settled down. Sketch 1, below, is a rough plan of our respective positions.

To our left, two of the bridegrooms, seated cross-legged on the floor, awaited their future spouse. A couple of them sufficed, it seemed, the

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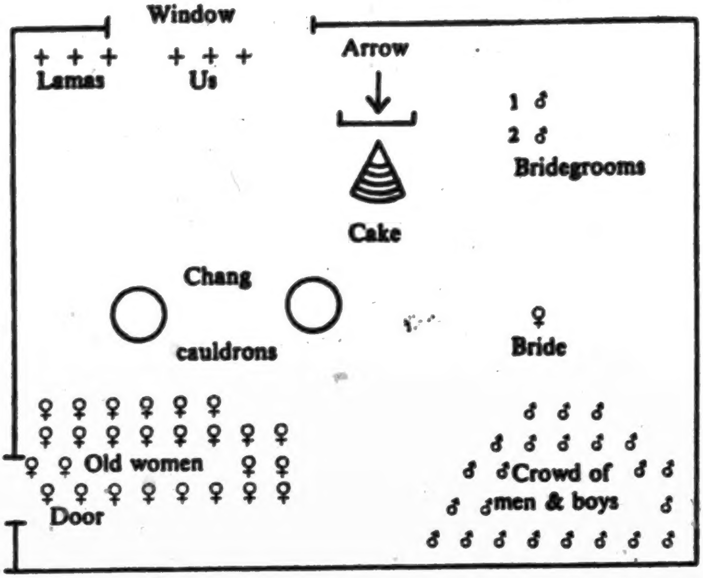

Sketch 1. Plan of main room of Tolag-pa House of Gumling during the polyandrous wedding there on the 1st July, 1938.

other two being very young and fidgety and incapable of behaving as they should at their wedding. The eldest of the brothers was on the [292] right and he wore a yellow silk gown with a bright green sash diagonally across it, a charm box round his neck and a little Lahuli embroidered hat on his head. His brother was plainly dressed in everyday clothes and was seated on his left.

In front of the eldest brother, in a square box full of grain, stood a [782] tall arrow with prayer flags attached to the head. Next to it, and in front of the second bridegroom, there was a conical cake of *tsampa* with the small figure of a goat fashioned out of butter at the top. In the centre of the room were two huge cauldrons of *chang*, enough to keep the party going for quite some time. The back of the room, facing us, was full of people, many old women on our right, and a mixed group of men and boys just opposite.

The bride was brought in and dumped near the younger brother, to his left. She remained lying there without moving, still gently moaning [354] but having given up her violent protests. The room was in darkness when she was carried in, but no sooner had she been put down on the

Lahul

floor, than small lamps on every pillar in the room were lit and gave us all the light we needed to follow the next part of the ceremony. 585 354

A man called the *La-btag-pa* (*La-bTag-pa*) now came forward with a large branch of juniper in his hand. He set fire to it from one of the lamps and with a knife, which he held in the other hand, he cut a piece out of the conical *tsampa* cake and offered it loudly to a god whom he called Tangyer of Kior. The Wazir told me afterwards that the latter was the name of a neighbouring village really called Piukar, while the god's actual appellation was Kularapa. It was never done, however, to call upon him and his village openly by their real name, and thus they were both called upon in the way which I heard. 585 782

The same *La-btag-pa* then took what remained of the cake and offered it to the bride and bridegrooms. A shout went up from the crowd looking on and we heard that this was the crucial moment when they became husbands and wife. The cake was presented cross-armed by the officiator, that is to say, after he had got rid of the burning juniper branch (which was thrown out of the window), he took one large slice in each hand and, facing the wedding party, offered what he had in his right hand to the men, and the contents of the left to the girl. Everybody watched to see how the pieces would be taken. If they are snatched, it means that the partners are very much in love. If the woman takes her piece slowly, reluctantly, it means that she is in love with someone else. Should the cake be refused and the slices returned, this means that the marriage is refused. In this case, they seemed to accept the proffered food quite naturally, without either snatching or hesitating, so that everyone present shouted their approval. 585 787

After that, *chang* was passed to the assembled company, beginning with the two bridegrooms. When it reached us, the Thakur told me that the ceremony was finished and that we could go. As we went out, leaving our guide to remain and enjoy the fun, I noticed that the Garas started beating their drums again; they had been silent since the bride had been carried into the main room to be formally wed. We were cordially invited to return the next day, as we were told that rejoicings would go on now for another two days and two nights. 585 [273]

In the morning, on July 2nd 1938, we returned to Tolag-pa house, to continue our experience of a Lahuli polyandrous wedding. Thakur Partap Chand again accompanied us, and from him I heard what had happened after our departure the day before, and during the night.

It seemed that the bride had retired at about 11.30 p.m., with the women who helped her to undress. The bridegrooms remained with the

585 men for another half hour and, on the stroke of midnight, they went up to the bridal chamber where the eldest brother was put to bed in another bed than the one in which his bride was already lying. This is the usual custom, I was assured, when the couple is not notoriously in love, and parents have arranged the match. They could sleep in the same bed together if it were otherwise. An old woman was left in the room all night to watch over them and see how they behaved, and this appeared to be an indication that the young people had, nevertheless, had a word to say in the choice of whom they would marry, because if they had not and the parents alone had arranged everything, two men and two women would have been on guard all night.

Thakur Partap Chand assured me that newly married couples never consummate the marriage on the first night; they only have physical relations with one another on their wedding day if they have had some before. Intercourse between husband and wife may not take place until a week later, I heard (I must say with some incredulity), or sometimes until after a month or even one year. The only explanation that I could find for such a curious statement was that perhaps in the case of arranged marriages, the partners are not keen to know each other, and postpone this duty as long as they can. But I cannot believe that so much delay is observed in the case of newly married couples who have voluntarily chosen each other.

In the early morning, the women fetched the bride out and, having dressed her in all her finery, brought her down to the main room again. The bridegroom and his brother were likewise taken down, adorned in their best clothes by their male friends and relatives. We found them sitting in state in the reception room where they had been seated during the wedding, but with the bride now relaxed and upright, and all the other paraphernalia removed – except the *chang* cauldrons.

[293] From the latter, an ample supply was served to the guests, together with tea. We were continually being pressed to drink, and after sipping our cups a few times, got tired of it and left the room. I took advantage of this to question the Thakur as to who the other people in the room were. He told me that they were relatives and friends of the bridegrooms' family. The bride was not represented, he assured me, because it was very rare that members of the bride's family should attend her wedding, never if they did not approve of the match. If their consent [584] has been obtained, they must first receive some assurance that their daughter will receive enough revenue from the land of her future husbands to satisfy them before they consent to appear. They will then do

so, but always two days later, and when they make their appearance, 585
everyone on the bridegrooms' side is very polite to them, for they protest against the violent way in which their daughter has been abducted, in accordance with the best traditions.

We went off to lunch after that, and on returning in the afternoon, 585
visited the private chapel of the house, the *lha-k'hang* (*lha-k'hang*), 782
where the three lamas were busy preparing offerings which still had to be made to the gods so that the wedding should be auspicious. They had consulted the scriptures, they told us, and the things which we could see on the altar were those that they considered appropriate for this occasion. Before a large statue of Buddha, together with the usual presentations of water, grain and *tsampa* moulded *tormas* (*gTor-ma*) or dough figures, there were a leg of mutton, the arrow with the streamers to it, standing in a box of grain, which we had seen in front of the senior bridegroom at the ceremony of the previous day, and a platter upon which stood the large figure of a stag also moulded in dough, with twelve points to its antlers, surrounded by small, coloured flags and two *dos* (*mDos*) or string-cross traps for evil spirits. The lamas were most obliging and pleasant, and although we interrupted their devotions, took great pains to show us everything. They told us that the stag would be [789]
thrown away and burned before the wedding festivities had come to an end.

Next, we went up onto the roof again, attracted there by various 585
curious visitors from Tibet who had stopped off on their way south to 273
see what was going on in the Tolag-pa house. There we found a space filled with a lot of men from the party, sitting round the wall, while in the centre, before them, huge cauldrons of *chang* were being prepared. Upon asking, I was given to understand that the bride was shortly coming up to give flowers to each of the men in exchange for small coins which they would give her for good luck. The *chang*-girl, whom we knew from the first day, was there distributing the alcoholic beverage to all in turn, still dressed in all her finery. Below this space on the roof, I heard that there was another room for tea drinkers, and that a similar ceremony would take place there, too.

The bride did come up soon after that, and she duly distributed flowers and received money in exchange. Everybody then got very drunk [789]
on the *chang* until the lamas came out with the stag offering and threw it away into a specially built bonfire below the house, while everyone hissed loudly at the devils which were being thus destroyed. Dancing followed, the men nearly all reeling drunk, but then I was told that for

585 a marriage to be auspicious, it was essential that as many of the guests
273 as possible became intoxicated.

Mutton, rice and curry were distributed to all, and while the dancing went on, many laid themselves down to sleep. The lamas came up onto the roof and recited prayers for all. More *chang* was distributed by the girl, and everyone drank six cups at least. Each time that this took place or somebody got up to dance, the Garas would beat their drums to encourage revelry. Occasionally, they even rattled off tunes, which I was told meant "drink more". The lamas who were also drinking quite a lot, became very religious in this atmosphere, and kept on springing to their feet to bless the guests, the food, the crops and even the sheep belonging to the house, and which could be seen in the fields below.

585 Only the women would not join in the dance and needed much persuasion. Prem Chand, the Thakur's cousin, joined me in trying to get them to perform, and when eventually the older ladies of the house of Karpa (among them Tseten's mother) started a few steps, they all came along and joined in the fun. It was getting late now, and the sun was setting. The bridegrooms wandered about freely in the crowd during all this time, as did even the two younger ones who had not taken part in the ceremony.

As we broke up and went home that evening, we heard that the bride was down stairs in the reception room with the other women of the house. In twelve days, she would be going back to her parents' house, where she
[591] would stay one month in accordance with Lahuli custom. She would only return to her new home after that time, bringing all her belongings with her and settling down for good in the house of her husbands.

We stayed another three weeks in Lahul, and during this time I had a number of opportunities to gather further data about the polyandrous
[115] people of the Bhaga valley. The Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, accompanied me everywhere, and for this reason, as well as because he spoke English, he was my principal source of information.

423 Thus, Partap Chand told me that in *Khalsa kothi* holdings of poly-
428 androus families, property may belong to the house, that is, to the broth-
595 ers who own the land jointly and without division, but fields are nevertheless divided up among them, so that each of them receives his own private revenue. Bad patches are distributed first among the brothers of a household, and then the good pieces of land. Women can also re-
[584] ceive the revenue of fields put aside for them, and it is on this point that a bride's relatives have to be satisfied before they will agree to their daughter being "stolen" from them.

If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the
595 whole holding and the family name, and is the lawful occupier-tenant
428 of either State or tenant *zhing-kham*. He has full rights of enjoyment
[423] and disposal which he shares with no one. If there are no boys to
inherit the house and family name, then the eldest daughter will take
over, provided that she has not married out of the house beforehand.
[586] Cases are known, however, in which a daughter married out has been
divorced and brought back to the family holding in order to take it over
and carry it on intact to another generation.

595 Marriage in Ladak, as in Lahul, is either *bag-ma* (patrilocal and patri-
[184] lineal or *mag-pa* (matrilocal and matrilineal). These names are some-
times replaced by the terms *na-ma* (*mNa-ma*) meaning "daughter-in-
law", and *bag-po* (*bag-po*) for "bridegroom".

Bag-ma marriage is a fraternally polyandrous one in most cases, all the brothers of the bridegroom becoming automatically husbands of the bride. It is the custom, usually, only to have the elder son and the next eldest one at the ceremony, but it is understood that whatever other boys there are in a family are also married to the wife of the eldest.

Mag-pa marriage can also be polyandrous, if the heiress so desires. But in this case, it is non-fraternal, the woman usually choosing husbands who are unrelated and the secondary ones being generally younger than their predecessors. A man can be *mag-pa* to an heiress and to her sisters, but unless he is formally married to them all, he only has a right of access to the younger ones; they are free at any time to leave the household and to contract *bag-ma* marriages outside.

[184] The institution of the *porjag* exists also in Ladak; such a man is called
in if the bride remains childless. It appears, however, that a second
842 such extra man is never brought into a family, it being considered un-
befitting to do so, whereas in Lahul there are no such scruples. The
custom of taking a wife extra to the one already existing, is also prac-
tised in Ladak, the new woman being called *chan-chung* (*Byan-ch'hung*)
in such a case. Actually, there is no limit to the amount of wives a
man, or men, living in polyandry, may take in. It is, however, not
[177] considered proper to have more than four wives at a time – possibly
the result of Moslem influence in the country. The formalities of mar-
[585] riage are only observed on the occasion of the first marriage (called
chan-ch'hen (*Byan-ch'hen*)), while on the occasion of *chan-ch'hung*
mentioned above, or of *yang-chung* (*Yang-ch'hung*), taking a third or
fourth wife, only *chang* is given to relatives, and that part of the mar-
riage ceremony in which head cloths are put on is performed. The
second, third and fourth wives are generally selected from relatives of

584 [583] [424] tribution to the dowry, called *Rin-t'ho* (*Rin-t'ho*), "price list". This will eventually constitute part of the wife's own personal property, called *Rag-tag* (*Rag-rTags?*), which can never be included in that of her husband or husbands, except by inheritance after her death. The second part of this ceremony consists in the essential *Go-ras* (*mGo-ras*) or "cotton cloth", the laying of *khatags* on the head of the bride (or brides if a *mag-pa* is married to more than one sister) which is a point of no return. If a betrothal is broken up after this ritual has taken place it is incumbent to act as though a divorce were necessary since the parties are considered to be as good as married. The near relatives of the girl receive more *khatags* from the bridegroom's family, and a piece of cloth is taken to the kitchen where it is tied round one of the pots. Other presents, such as ornaments, cash and turquoises are sometimes added here to the gifts made to the family of the bride.

In return, the visiting party receives a piece of cloth and a dish to [585] [436] take home. The latter will then plan the wedding feast, called *Bag-ston* (*Bag-ston*), in every detail, calculate what the total of the dowry will amount to in *jos* (equivalent to Rupees 4/13/–), and decide the auspicious date upon which the final rites will take place.

585 [583] If the girl's parents do not give their consent to the marriage of their daughter as they are being requested to do, the boy's or boys' relatives will try and carry off the bride. The ceremony of laying the *go-ras* on her head will take place in the house of a male relative of hers, to whom presents have previously been given, and the marriage will be consummated immediately afterwards. The wife will then be sent home to her parents for some time. After they have been informed of what has happened, and forgiveness for the *fait accompli* has been obtained by repeated offerings of *chang* and *khatags*, the full wedding ceremony will take place. The latter bears the name of *Bag-log* (*Bag-log*) or "return wedding", but the wedding ritual in its entirety is called *Bagma-sbaste* (*Bagma-sBaste*) or "marriage by stealth". The same can apply to a *mag-pa* wedding, when it is called *Magpa-sbaste*.

[584] In the case of adults, the parties themselves arrange for their marriage, and there is no special wedding ceremony. After a period of cohabitation between the partners, the husband (or eldest of them) will visit the parents of the woman and give them *chang* and *khatags* in order to be accepted. Their consent, however, is not necessary for the union to be valid. This procedure is known in Ladak as *Pot'had-mot'had* (*Po-aT'had Mo-aT'had*), "male, female acceptance".

CCC Although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak 582
(there exist patrilineal clans here, as in Lahul, called *p'ha-spun* (*P'ha-* 611
[illegible]), of which I shall speak later), dual descent is taken into con- 614
sideration in what concerns degrees of marriage prohibition. Thus one [184]
can never marry within the paternal clan, and only a blood relative of one's mother beyond the seventh degree of relationship. In the poorer classes it is said that such a prohibition is only observed up to the fifth degree.

The wedding ceremonies of the well-to-do Ladaki families are most 585
elaborate and spectacular. In more modest households, however, *chang* is simply offered three or four times to the bride's relatives after *Tri-chang* in what is called *Bsu-chang* (*bSu-ch'hang*) or "taking-home-*chang*", and on the day fixed for the wedding, the bridegroom's (eldest) father, *azhang* or maternal uncle and some of the members of his *p'ha-spun* escort the girl to his house and the main ceremony follows. This is similar to the equivalent ceremony among the wealthier people, which I now propose to describe in greater detail.

We should first distinguish between *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, and since the former of the two is the most elaborate, I shall take it first. Before the commencement of the principal ceremonies, and after the formalities following upon the *Go-ras* ritual have taken place, a feast called *Drags-chang* (*Drags-ch'hang*) or "very much *chang*" is given to the bride's parents by their relatives. They bring *tsampa*, *chang*, sheep and goat carcasses, tea, butter, rice and cash to help them with the occasion. The same kind of feast is held in the bridegroom's house for his (or their) parents by the latters' relatives.

Then the first phase of the wedding festivities begins. On the date decided upon, a procession is formed at the bridegroom's house. It consists of his father, his *azhang*, members of his *p'ha-spun*, fifteen to twenty in number. It never includes the boy himself, who stays at home and waits. Towards the close of day, all these people will set out ac- [535]
companied by a dancing party, gorgeously dressed, of five to nine *Nya-*
opas (*gNya-bo-pa*) or "witnesses". These, chosen among the friends [1087]
and companions of the bridegroom, are designated by astrology; their principal qualification is that they know the appropriate dance steps and songs to be sung. They are led by a *Nya-pön* (*gNya-dPon*) or "chief witness".

As they proceed towards the bride's house, they are offered *chang* and *tsampa* on the way by anyone who cares to come along from the village. They take these offerings in their hands as blessings of good luck, and in return pay out cash in small coins. Some distance from

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585 their destinaton, the people in the procession are intercepted by members of the girl's family, both male and female, called either *Nang-mi* (*Nang Mi*) "people of the interior", or *Yado Dzao* (*Ya-do mDza-bo*) "companion-friends". These beat them with sticks and make a pretence of holding them up. The bridegroom's relatives offer pieces of cloth, *khatags*, and cash (annas) to appease the trouble-makers, and they are then subject to questioning and answering in song form, based on the eighteen Puranas, called on this occasion *Nya-rabs Chop-gyat* (*gNya-rabs bCho-brGyad*) "the eighteen legends of the witnesses".

The same show of resistance is made again at the door of the girl's house (including thorns put deliberately on the ground to impede sitting down) and more offerings are made to remove the obstacles. The leaders of the procession then state the object of their visit, and proceed to dance round a *tsampa* and bread image called *Drangyas* (*Brang-rGyas*) which has been put up in the yard together with the carcass of a whole sheep or *Sha-kog* (*Sha-k'hog*). Lamas who are present here, begin worship while the dance is still on.

A feast follows, during which the bride is hidden away, her horse is stolen, she is not allowed to go to the toilet, etc., and is generally bothered by her relatives who express in this way their (feigned) disinclination to let her go. Her father and *azhang* are paid some nominal sum of money so that an end is put to this mischief, and the girl is produced. She then has a *khatag* wound round her head and is led into the kitchen, where the lamas conduct a religious ceremony called *yang-kug* (*gYang-k'hug*) which is an evocation of blessing addressed to the pre-Buddhist god of wealth, in order to secure happiness and prosperity for the bride.

Clothes, ornaments, horses, yaks, sheep, goats, grain and cash are now offered to the boy's family by that of the bride. The bridegroom's relatives pay back with Rin-t'ho, as decided earlier, and by offering a purely nominal sum of two or three rupees as the price of the milk of the bride's mother, called *Omä Rin* (*aO-mai Rin*) "milk price". Then they all settle down, on both the bride's and the bridegroom's side, to the serious business of drafting the marriage contract.

585
695 In this document, the details of the girl's dowry are listed, what the property of the bridegroom will be is specified, the "assistance" which the bride will have from a number of other husbands, i.e. the brothers of the eldest one, is recorded, and sometimes a clause is inserted that if the husband does not turn out to be up to the mark, she will be authorized to bring in a *mag-pa* of her choice. All men present are

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witness to the signature of this document. Those who sign are the *Nya-pön*[1] *and the father of the bridegroom; the latter* adds a pledge that he is bound to carry out his promises as to the amount of property which will be that of the young people when they are married. The original goes to the bride's relations, and the boy's family retains a duplicate. 585 [675]

The bridal party remains the night in the house and in the morning sets out for the bridegroom's house, taking the bride with them, and the second phase of the wedding ceremony begins.

The bride is received at the entrance of the bridegroom's house by two or more lamas, reciting prayers. They hold an earthenware vessel full of foodstuffs (*chang*, *tsampa*, rice, tea, dried apricots, and various varieties of vegetables) called *Zablug* (*Za-bLugs* (*-sku*) or "victual earthen vessel", which one of them whirls around the head of the bridegroom as he stands on the doorstep waiting for his future wife. The pot is then taken to a large stone standing close by, upon which crossed *dorjes* (*rDo-rJe*) have been drawn with a piece of charcoal, and is broken upon it. This initial ceremony is called *Gyag-chod* (*rGyag-ch'hod*) meaning "casting the hindrance away".

Then everybody troops into the house and a feast begins in which there is much singing and dancing and the expenses of which are paid by the bridegroom's *azhang*. The bride is brought in, and is seated with her bridegroom and his brothers (today, usually only the next eldest brother) in the kitchen on a white piece of cloth upon which grain has been strewn. They are made to eat out of the same plate, and one of the witnesses, who now assumes the role of *Na-tri-pa*, as we have already seen in Lahul, puts a *go-ras* or cotton cloth on the head of the boys.

The third phase of the marriage, the most important one, follows. The *Na-tri-pa*, who is also known as the *Tashi-pa* (*bKra-shis-pa*) or "lucky one", in Ladak, conducts the bride into the store room of the house. He carries a *Da-dar* (*mDa-dar*) or arrow with flags in the five colours of Buddhism, a mirror, a sheep's ankle bone, and a *khatag*, and is followed by the bridegroom or bridegrooms. Once they have all got into the room, the match-maker (for that is what the "nose-conducting-one" is) removes the *go-ras* which the bride has been wearing since she was taken from her house, and those of the men which have just been put on in the kitchen, and lays them down on a plate containing barley grains which is standing on a table or a ledge close by. He then hooks the bride by the collar from behind with the *Da-dar*, as a symbol of taking her out from among other girls whom the men

[1] [I.e., The "Chief Witness" -- Analyst]

585 [589] could have married, and the parties are declared wed. This is the binding ritual which makes them husbands and wife. Unless it has been performed, the wife is not allowed into any private house or monastery in Ladak, *just as unmarried girls are not permitted* to worship at shrines, except at those of families in the houses.

A feast lasting three days is the next item on the programme. On the first day, the local villagers are fed, on the second the relatives and friends, and on the third the helpers and members of the bridegroom's *p'ha-spun*. Dancing round the *Drangyas* and the *Sha-kog* still standing in the yard, takes place on each of these days, and on the last one, it is broken up and distributed to the family and relatives, who accept the pieces as holy and of good omen. The Sha-kog, particularly, is taken to the bride's home, where it is sliced into pieces and given to her family to eat, the last morsel being given to her. Then the witnesses are paid off, each of them, in 1938, getting one rupee, and their helpers half that amount, while the lamas, who took part in the ceremony, receive a square piece of cloth each and some cash.

In the case of a *mag-pa* marriage, the same order of procedure is followed, except that the roles are reversed, so to speak, the man taking the part of the woman, and the woman that of the bridegroom. It is the *mag-pa* who is conducted in ceremony to the bride's house, and not [675] the other way round. When signing the contract of marriage, it is the girl's parents who endorse the pledge that her future husband will enjoy the property which is hers with him.

591 3. *Division of property between parents and children*

595 425 428 886 When the eldest child of a Buddhist family in Ladak marries, the time has come for his or her parents to leave their home, to give up the house and the property belonging to it to their son of daughter, who has the right to enter immediately into possession of the greater part of his or her inheritance.

[585] [888] A small portion, sufficient for the support of the several fathers, the mother and unmarried younger sisters that there may be, is made over to them while the remaining, larger portion, is at once acquired by the eldest son or daughter as his or her exclusive property.

This custom, which forces parents of grown-up, married children to retire from active life and from the responsibilities of their household when they are still not much beyond middle age, is called *K'hang chen K'hang gu cho ches* (*K'hang ch'hen K'hang bu Pyo Ches*), or translated literally, "Big house, small house to make".

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The parents and the unmarried sisters go to live in the *k'hang-gu* or 591
small house (which may be either a small part of the large house, or a 595
separate one on the family land, or even lodgings in some one else's 585
house if a *k'hang-gu* cannot be afforded by the family), while the eldest 425
son or daughter takes over the major portion of the household which 428
is called the *K'hang-chen*. 888

The reason for doing things in this way is, I was told by Joseph Gergan on the 6th October 1938, that bride and mother-in-law unless separated, are sure to quarrel. A Tibetan proverb says: [606] [539]

P'ha gNyen-bo sGo rGyap-la
Ma gNyen-bo Gog sBugs-la

which means:

"The father's relations are behind the door
The mother's relations are right inside the hearth."

Or, in other words, that the relations of the husband(s) should be turned out, while the wife's relations can always be sure of a warm welcome in in the home – that is in a *bag-ma* household; in a *mag-pa* one this naturally does not apply.

Reasons for the existence of this special custom, valid for both *bag-* 595
ma and *mag-pa* marriage, have been given as the fact that the parents 886
are getting old (after fifty, Ladakis, like Tibetans, age very quickly), 425
and that, for this reason, they can no longer assume responsibility for 428
the cultivation of the land, nor continue to bear the burden of the re- [145]
curring festivals, etc. So they go into the *k'hang-gu* where they have
no obligations any more, and leave their newly wedded children to
shoulder the charges which go with possession of the *k'hang-chen*.

The *k'hang-gu* consists of a smaller house, standing generally on the 595
land of the *k'hang-chen*, and of the fields called *To-zhing* (*lTo-zhing*), 888
"food-field", necessary for the maintenance of the persons who live in 425
it. No charges or dues are collected from the *k'hang-gu* by the Kashmir 428
State, and those who live in it do so absolutely freely. The portion of [651]
the father or fathers is called *p'ha-skal* (*P'ha-skal*), and that of the moth-
er *ma-skal* (*Ma-skal*), for such division between parents is observed.
Unmarried sisters live on the *p'ha-skal*.

The fields of the *k'hang-gu* can be cultivated by the inhabitants of the *k'hang-chen*; this saves trouble for the old folk. But if no such labour is forthcoming, then the *ma-skal* will be cultivated by the relatives of the mother, while the fathers and the unmarried sisters will look after the *p'ha'skal*.

Apart from land to be tilled, there are some animals in the *k'hang-gu*

595 a livelihood – like the Moslem Ladakis who went to Burma. I was, I
123 confess, considerably impressed by the old man's perspicacity. It was
182 also a lesson to me, and showed me better than anything else what circumstances were like in this area of Tibetan culture, and how polyandry was connected, or appeared to be, with the economic necessities of the environment.

595 That same afternoon, we went on to visit another polyandrous family living in a neighbouring house.
601 Here, an elderly father, remarried to a new wife after his first wife had died, lived in a *k'hang-gu* situated on the family grounds, very close to the ancestral house, the *k'hang-chen*. In the latter, his son by the deceased wife,* now lived with his wife and
[115] five of six children that the couple had had. This son was our infor-
[888] mant, and apart from the polyandry in which the sons lived, I was
[591] interested to see how grandparents and parents resided separately. Their genealogy is to be found in Table 28.

591 Lobsang Namgyal's eldest daughter was married off in *bag-ma* to the
595 eldest son of the Tsana household. His three sons were still very young
888 (the eldest only just eighteen) but were already married polyandrously to Skalzang Deskid. She had no children yet, and I was told that they were waiting for her to have her first baby to put Lobsang Namgyal and his wife, Tsering Rolma, into a second *k'hang-gu*. This is some-
[425] times done in Ladak, instead of taking over from the parents directly
[428] after the wedding; it is as if the newly-married had no reason yet to
● [585] become the official owners of the family property. The two younger daughters, still very small, would move into the new *k'hang-gu* with their parents, I was told, and would remain there until they were married out in *bag-ma*. Asked where the "small house" was into which father and mother would eventually move, I was informed that they would take the place of Tsang Dön-drup and his wife, Tsang Rolma. These two would then go to another *k'hang-gu* situated on another piece of ancestral land, and in which grandparents always resided in the Tsang-bi family. It was quite apparent that the different portions reserved for retiring elders were always the same, awaiting new occupants which the inexorable march of time brought to them.

595 On the following day, August 31st 1938, Nono Tse-P'hün took me to more polyandrous households of Leh.
601 First, we visited a family called *Od-ldan* (*aOd-lDan*) in which an heiress had married in *mag-pa*,
[888] and lived in the *k'hang-gu* while her three boys, living in polyandry,
[591] occupied the *k'hang-chen*. Their genealogy as I made it that day, is given in Table 29.

*[i.e., Lobsang Namgyal -- Analyst]

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]

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numbered, being held between two flat slats of wood. None I 779
saw told of the history of the land—on this I could only accept 212
the word of the Head Lama—they consisted of prayers and mystical formulae. To watch them being printed was interesting, 213
letters and words being cut on stereotyped wooden blocks which were pressed on the ink pad and then on the page of the book, just as cloth is hand-printed with floral decorations. It is necessary for the printer to be a man of education, one who knows what he is printing and has plenty of time and patience. No wonder that new "books" are rarely published.

In the red monastery which is on the top of the hill behind 778
the palace, there is a great image of Matreiya which is twenty-five feet high. It was erected by King Ide, who must have miscalculated its height when building the chapel in which it was housed, for the head projects above the ceiling and another portion had to be built to take this.

With every possible occasion being made an excuse for festivities, 533
music is a necessary contribution, and this is provided 535
by Mon musicians. The Mons were the first to enter Ladakh in about 200 B.C. The band consists of a round-topped drum, cymbals, clarinets and trumpets which are anything up to twelve feet long. The dancing seems to consist of continuous
twirls with the dancers going round in circles. The first time [585] ●
that I witnessed this was on the occasion of a wedding. The [777]
groom was then sitting on a swastika drawn for luck on the ground and awaiting his bride. The bridal party, dressed in gay
gowns and high gilded hats, arrived, dancing as they came. After 535
the ceremony all the relatives danced, each separately, but the whole dance consisting of whirling round and round, with the dancers formed in a circle which opened and closed. The women were each holding out one hand which they gracefully opened and closed—the opening of a blossom; the men also revolving, but at a slower pace, were performing the oddest movements with their necks, which could only be described as like a chicken pecking.

By hand and head movements the dancer tells a story, but the same movements may be used to convey a different meaning in other parts of the country or on various occasions. They are a gesture language of hand, head and feet as I had known and